970.1
Bea

M. VICTOR JOHNSON

Indians YESTERDAY and TODAY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

Oscar L. Chapman, *Secretary*

BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Dillon S. Myer, *Commissioner*
H. Rex Lee, *Associate Commissioner*
John H. Provinse, *Assistant Commissioner*
Ervin J. Utz, *Assistant Commissioner*
W. Barton Greenwood, *Executive Officer*

BRANCH OF EDUCATION

Willard W. Beatty, *Chief, Branch of Education*

AUTHORIZED BY CONGRESS

Printing Department
Chilocco Agricultural School
Chilocco, Oklahoma

97—6-19-50—5000

First Printed—7-1941—5000
Second Printing—6-19-50—5000

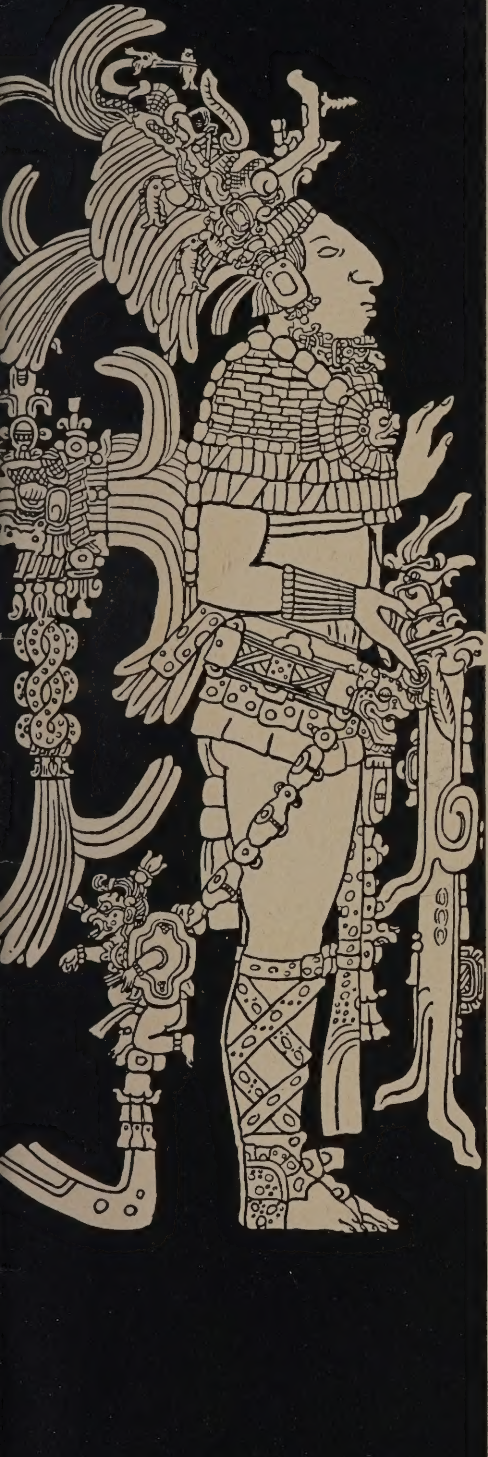
Price Fifty Cents

Collection of Native North American Indian Books, Historical Books, Atlases, plus other important authors and family heirloom books.
As of 12-31-93

Earl Ford McNaughton
Earl Ford McNaughton

M. V. J.

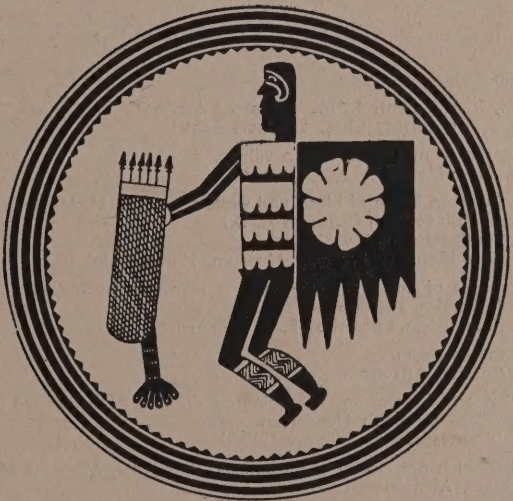
INDIANS YESTERDAY AND TODAY



Maya War Lord,
from a Central American Stone Carving

INDIANS
YESTERDAY
and
TODAY

INFORMATION PAMPHLET



Dance figure painted on inside of black and white pottery bowl.
Mimbres classic period. (10th to 12th centuries A. D.)
Southwestern New Mexico.

United States Indian Service
Edited by Willard W. Beatty, Director of Education

CONTENTS

CHAPTER *PAGE*

FOREWORD ---- 6
1. ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN ---- 7
2. DRAMA OF NEW WORLD CIVILIZATION ---- 11
3. CULTURAL AREAS OF NORTH AMERICA AND VARIATION AMONG TRIBES ---- 17
4. INDIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN CULTURE ---- 23
5. HISTORY OF INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS ---- 28
6. INDIAN RELIGION AND CEREMONIALISM ---- 34
7. INDIAN INDUSTRY ---- 39
8. INDIAN EDUCATION ---- 44
9. INDIAN HEALTH ---- 50
10. INDIAN AGRICULTURE ---- 54
11. INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS ---- 60
12. INDIAN REORGANIZATION ---- 64
13. OUR INDIAN MINORITY (By John Collier) ---- 72

ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate Description — Facing Page

Maya War Lord, from a Central American stone carving ---- *Flyleaf*
(Courtesy Chas. Scribners Sons.)

Winter at Taos, the many storied Indian village.
Taos, New Mexico ---- *Frontispiece*

Dance figure painted on inside of black and white pottery bowl. Mimbres Classic Period (10th to 12th Centuries A. D.)
Southwestern New Mexico ---- *Title*
(Courtesy Peabody Museum, Harvard University.)

Wisdom, the product of age and experience, is respected by Indians.
Navajo Service, Arizona ---- 6
(from original pastel by Eben Comins.)

Apache family moves camp.
Fort Apache, Arizona ---- 7

Arrival of the Emperor Montezuma—imaginative drawing based on old Spanish Chronicles—by Keith Henderson ---- 13
(Courtesy Junior Literary Guild.)

The Sioux warbonnet is not typical of all Indians. Birdrattler, Medicine Man.
Blackfeet, Montana ---- 14

Nearly a thousand years ago, North American Indians built and occupied many-storied stone cities.
Mesa Verde, Colorado ---- 15

The Plains Indians were wanderers.
Crow tipis, Montana ---- 18
(Courtesy K. F. Roohan.)

The Indians of the Great Lakes lived in bark wigwams. Some still do.
Chippewa (Ojibwa) Red Lake, Minnesota ---- 19

Dancer wearing eagle costume and carrying a head or eagle mask. Temple mound.
Etowah, Georgia ---- 21
(Courtesy Department of Anthropology
Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.)

ILLUSTRATIONS (Continued)

Areas of Indian Cultures in the United States ---------- 22

A Seminole leader in typical costume.
Big Cypress, Florida ---------- 26
(Courtesy Dwight Gardin)

Ancient basketry serves a new purpose with modern poultry.
San Carlos Apache, Arizona ---------- 27

Whorl of large sea shell with incised design of spotted serpent and world symbol found in burial at village site.
Etowah, Georgia ---------- 27
(Courtesy Department of Anthropology
Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.)

Brush painted turkey design inside white bowl.
Mimbres region, Southwest New Mexico ---------- 33
(Courtesy Peabody Museum, Harvard University.)

The Kiva, religious center of the cliff dwellers, functions today in neighboring pueblos.
San Ildefanso, New Mexico ---------- 34
(Courtesy Frances M. Cooke)

North American heraldry—the totem pole is a record of family and clan relationship.
Haida-Tlingit Indians, Alaska ---------- 35
(Courtesy Indian Exhibit, San Francisco Exposition)

Quetzalcoatl, from Aztec carving, Mexico ---------- 38

Indian loggers, exploiting Indian forests for Indian profit.
Navajo Service, Arizona ---------- 42

Eskimo walrus hunters securing food, clothing and ivory.
Northern Alaska ---------- 43

Design on shell, temple mound.
LeFlore County, Oklahoma ---------- 49
(Courtesy Museum of the American Indian N. Y. C.)

Indian children, freed from cultural pressure, react like children everywhere.
Santa Ana, New Mexico ---------- 50

Slowly medical science makes headway against faith healing.
Navajo Service, Arizona ---------- 51

Eagle Dance—Pueblo (Modern Block Print.) ---------- 53

The Indian accepts the white man's machine when it can help.
Mission agency, Southern California ---------- 58

Hopi pottery design,
Hotevilla, Arizona ---------- 59

The beautiful old crafts fortunately persist. (Shoshone woman.)
Fort Hall, Idaho ---------- 59

Silver worked with steel tools, both borrowed from whites, in the hands of Indian artists, produces unrivaled jewelry.
Navajo Service, Arizona ---------- 62
(Courtesy Frances M. Cooke)

Tepoztecatl, from Aztec carving, Mexico ---------- 63
(Courtesy Junior Literary Guild.)

Tribal officers of Zuni—a pueblo preserving an ancient culture in spite of Spanish and then American contacts.
Zuni, New Mexico ---------- 63

The Indian Reorganization Act is restoring self-government to Indian groups.
Shoshone Council.
Wind River, Wyoming ---------- 70

Indian girls at home in modern business life.—Chickasaw, Mohawk, Seneca, and Navajo)
Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. ---------- 71

FOREWORD

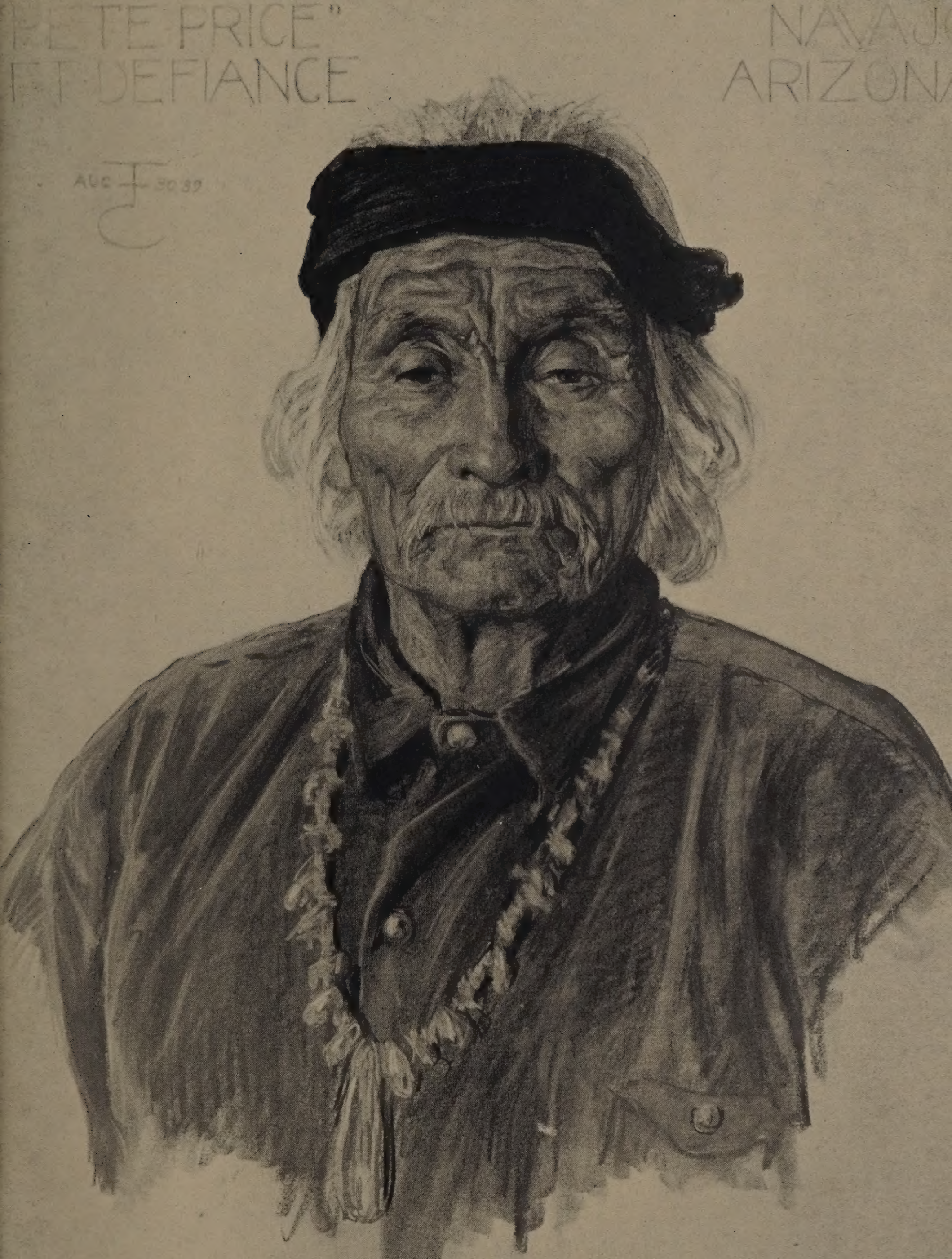
This is a second and revised edition of Indians Yesterday and Today, which was published in 1941. Originally, the material had been assembled by Gerard T. Beeckman, then Director of Information in the Indian Service, as a series of radio scripts, which were widely distributed throughout the United States. The demand for the volume has justified its further revision and republication at this time.

The contents fall into two distinct parts. The first six chapters deal largely with prehistory; the remainder deal with the activities of the Indian Service on behalf of present-day Indians. M. W. Sterling and F. H. H. Roberts of the Smithsonian Institution, Duncan Strong of Columbia University, and Lucy Kramer prepared the material of the first four chapters. The remainder of the book is the work of the staff of the Indian Service.

This is one of a number of publications of the Indian Service, designed to present in simple and readable form accurate information about American Indians. A list, with prices, will be found on the inside of the back cover and publications may be obtained from Haskell Institute, Lawrence, Kansas.

Willard W. Beatty,
Director of Education.

Wisdom, the product of age and experience is respected by Indians.
Navajo Medicine Man, Arizona


ETE PRICE"
FT DEFIANCE
NAVAJ
ARIZON
AUG 30 39

1.

ORIGIN OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

It is a strange fact that practically none of the grade or high schools and relatively few of our universities teach courses designed to give a true picture of the history and prehistory of the American Indian. In the case of the lower schools, this is due in part to the fact that there are very few suitable text books available. Any high school graduate has a fair idea of the glory that was Greece or Rome, but very few, indeed, have an accurate idea, for example, of the equally great cultural achievements of the Mayas and the Incas, or the advances in political organization made by such tribes as the Iroquois, Cherokee or Pueblos. As a result of the general inability to obtain this information, many basic misconceptions concerning the Indian have gained a firm footing in popular tradition and have been perpetuated in many cases by improperly informed writers.

Because of the fact that the American aborigines did not develop a true system of writing the task of reconstructing the past has of necessity been undertaken through the research and the excavation of the archaeologists. The quipu knot records of the ancient Peruvian, the recorded astronomical calculations of the Mayas and the realistic picture records of personal achievements and calendar counts which were painted on skin by the Plains Indians and others give us some small information, but none of these can in any way be interpreted as historical accounts.

Early in the 16th century when America became definitely recognized as a separate continent, Europe began to speculate on the probable origin of the natives. By this date Christianity had become firmly entrenched as the religion of Europe. In keep-

Apache Family moves camp.
Fort Apache, Arizona.

ing with the religious spirit of the age, a solution of the problem was first sought in Hebrew traditions purporting to demonstrate that the Indians were descendants of the "Lost Tribes of Israel." As there are certain basic similarities in the customs of primitive peoples throughout the world, it was an easy matter to demonstrate resemblances between the American Indians and the early Hebrews.

Speculation did not stop at this point, however. Energetic writers began to see resemblances between the pyramids and temples of Central America and Mexico and those of ancient Egypt or India. Others thought that they could see the hands of the Phoenicians or the Greeks in some of the customs of the Indians; in fact, most of the high civilizations of Europe, Asia and Africa were each supposed by some writer at some time to have been the point of origin of the Indian or of his civilization. Many stories which have been proven myths have circulated throughout the past four hundred years concerning Atlantis and the theory of a lost continent, tribes of "White Indians," stories of giants and dwarfs and the finding of bones of alleged giants which have invariably turned out to be bones of large mammals, fossil or otherwise. However the studies of the anthropologists have shown that all of the American Indians are essentially of one generalized racial type, probably the basic type from which the Mongoloid peoples of Asia have also sprung.

Numerous finds indicating a greater antiquity for the American Indian than had previously been granted have focused attention on the subject of early man in the New World. It is, of course, impossible for us to tell just exactly how long the Indian had been in America prior to the coming of Columbus. Evidence furnished by the archaeologists and other scientists gives a hint of the proper answer. In a number of places stone tools were found with the bones of extinct animals under conditions suggesting that the men who made the implements hunted and killed the creatures. Because the animals belonged to species believed to have become extinct at the end of the ice age, or shortly after the melting glaciers began their northward retreat, the associations were thought to show that men were present at the beginning of the present geologic period, if not actually at the end of the preceding one. This evidence is augmented by finds in other places where man-made objects were recovered from deposits that geologists identify as representative of the same general era.

Sites containing such materials are located in Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Wyoming, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada and California.

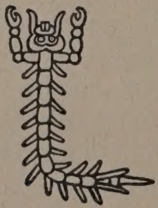
Probably the best known examples are Gypsum Cave, Nevada, and the various locations designated by the name Folsom. At Gypsum Cave, traces of an early group were found with remains of the giant ground sloth, the llama-like American camel, and possibly the small native horses. Little is known of the cultural pattern beyond the fact that the people were skilled chippers of stone implements, were workers in wood and feathers, used sinew thread to sew skin garments, and used several different colors to paint designs on their products. For weapons they used a short spear and spear thrower, but they did not know the bow and arrow. Although they occasionally camped over night they did not use the cave as a permanent habitation. They visited it mainly for hunting purposes. Nothing is known of the physical characteristics of the people as none of their skeletal remains have been found. The main significance of the evidence here is that it shows the ancestors of some as yet unidentified southwestern Indian group hunted animals that have long since become extinct.

The Folsom complex is characterized by an association of stone implements with bison, mammoth and muskox bones. The bison was similar to but much larger than the modern buffalo. The mammoth was the large hairy elephant which was one of the typical animals of the glacial period. The muskox, also a cold climate creature, still lives in arctic America. All that is known of the Folsom people is that they had a great variety of stone tools including a peculiar fluted projectile point which is called the Folsom point. No human remains have been found and there is no knowledge of what the Folsom men were like. There is no evidence of what type of shelter they may have used. On the other hand, it is obvious that they were typical hunters depending entirely upon big game for their maintenance. They no doubt supplemented their preponderant meat diet with wild seeds and "greens" but they did not cultivate their own vegetal food. That was a development attained by much later peoples. The Folsom groups probably did not settle long in one place but traveled wherever the animals moved. The most important sites for the remains of this group are near Folsom, New Mexico, the place where the original finds were made and from which the name was taken; at the old lake beds between Clovis and Portales, New Mexico; and at the Lindenmeier ranch north of Ft. Collins, Colorado. Subsequent developments for this group have not been traced, but it probably evolved into some of the Plains people.

In the region around Abilene, Texas, remains representing an early hunting pattern approximately on a par with the Folsom have been found. Some consider these older than Folsom while others are not in agreement on the estimated antiquity. Evidence for this group consists of stone hearths with charcoal and fragmentary animal bones buried deeply, sometimes as much as twenty-five feet beneath sand, clay and gravel beds. There are no extinct animal bones, but the deposits in which the specimens are found are called glacial by some geologists.

Both human remains and man-made objects have been found in Minnesota in deposits identified as glacial. Here again the evidence is for a simple hunting culture and the people are considered representative of an early type of Indian. Some of the specialists who have visited the sites believe them to be quite old, others think they represent considerable antiquity although not going back as far as the time of the glaciers.

General consensus is that North America was peopled from northeastern Asia and that the spread was along several routes down across the continent. It seems likely that early migrants must have travelled down along the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. Geologists have estimated that the Folsom deposits near Clovis, New Mexico are approximately 12,000 years old and that Gypsum Cave is subsequent to them. On this basis it can be said that the Indians have been in America from 12,000 to 25,000 years. The evidence, however, is so meager that this must be considered only as an approximation.



2.

DRAMA OF NEW WORLD CIVILIZATION

Looking at the map, the North and South American continents, in relation to the land masses around the north pole, appear as a great extension of the Asiatic continent. Anywhere from ten to forty thousand years ago, when the great ice sheets were receding into the north, ancient peoples from Asia pushed across the narrow straits between the Asiatic and North American continents and entered into a vast New World unoccupied by any other humans. These first comers were extremely primitive hunters and fishermen who, following food supplies consisting of animal herds, fish and wild plants, in the course of centuries eventually pushed their way through Central America and into the furthest reaches of South America.

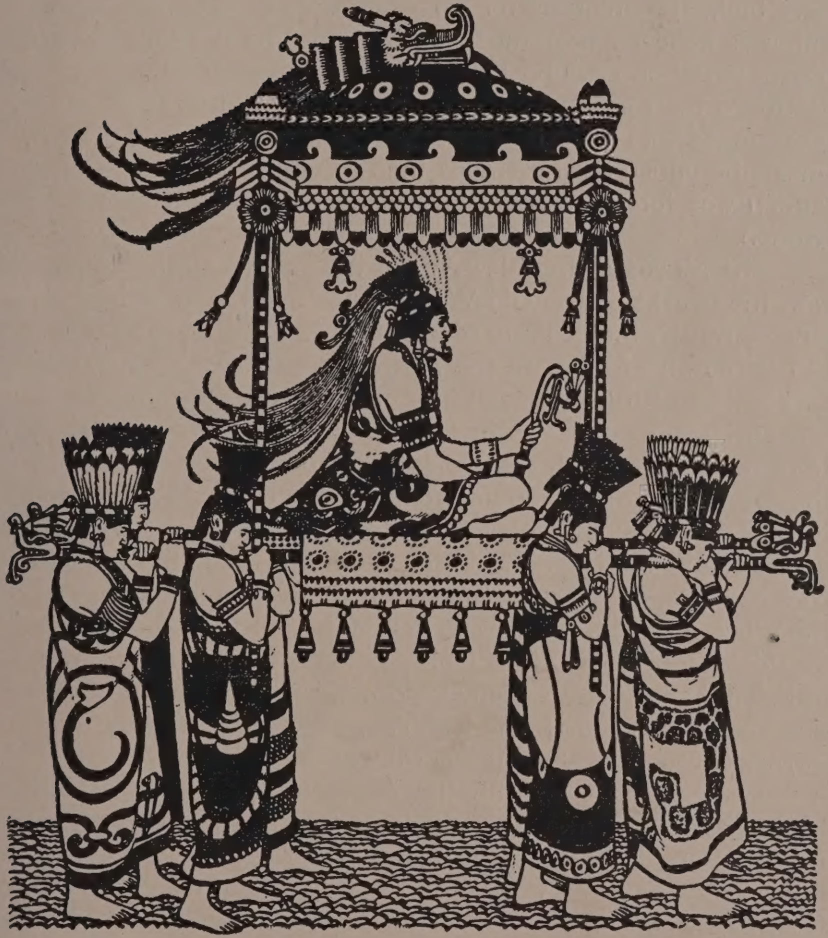
The occupation of the New World was undoubtedly begun by hunters and continued for centuries. Group after group entered from the north. In the new environment they increased until practically every portion of the New World was occupied by groups of these people, who have been called Indians, since Columbus landed thinking he had reached the shores of India.

Only in very recent years have the traces of these first great migrations been found in our western plains and along the eastern borders of the Rocky Mountains. Here archaeologists have found, often in association with animal forms that today are extinct, ancient stone implements which were used by that early group of New World hunters. These remains are today known as the Folsom culture which was discussed in the first chapter. From the time of the Folsom hunters, at least ten thousand years ago, to that of the "discovery" of America by Columbus, the New World was the scene of the unfolding of a great drama of civilization entirely unique from any of the higher civilizations of Asia and Europe.

Not only did these early hunters find an abundant food supply in the great herds of caribou, bison and other animals, but they found an infinite variety of plant forms utterly unknown in the Old World. How long the ancestral Indians remained solely as hunters and gatherers is not known but it certainly comprised many millennia. Even today in the extreme north and in the extreme south there are still Indians who have never passed beyond this primitive economic stage. In the regions of Middle America, however, as population increased new plants were utilized, and, in the course of time, many of these came to be cared for artificially. It was the independent development of agriculture, based on unique plants, which started the American Indian on the high road of cultural progress culminating in the great civilization of the Mayas and the Andean empire of the Incas.

The exact point of origin of native American agriculture is unknown but there is a strong probability that it may have begun in several places at once. The most important native American agricultural product was maize, commonly called corn, which seems to have originated in the highlands of Guatemala or Mexico. In the South many varieties of potatoes were developed in the highlands of Peru and Colombia. In the great jungles of the Amazon, manioc, from which cassava is made, became the staple food of the Indians. As the cultivation of native plants improved and as the idea of agriculture, along with its products, spread from tribe to tribe true civilization began in the New World. It is the long and fascinating story of the rise of the ancient empires of America that the archaeologists are now patiently unearthing in the jungles and mountains of the American tropics.

In Central America the highest degree of civilization was attained by the Maya Indians whose numerous descendants still dwell on the Peninsula of Yucatan and in the highlands of Guatemala. From a simple cultural level based on agriculture, Mayan civilization seems to have flowered very rapidly. They built huge cities of stone ornamented by beautiful and intricate carving, created exquisite works of art in jade and pottery, and invented a calendric system superior in accuracy to that we use today. Not only did the Maya invent a calendar but they recorded im-



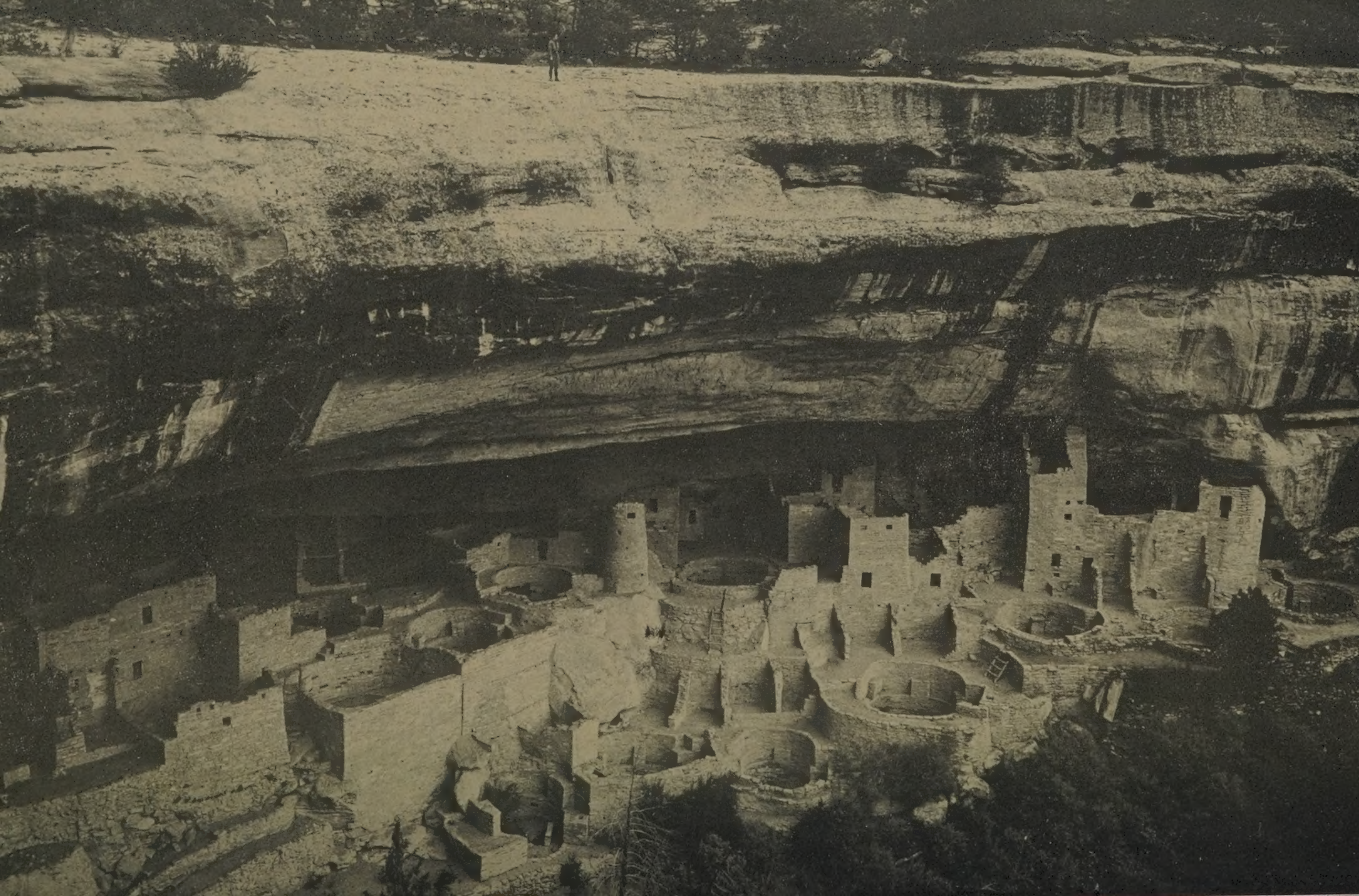
ARRIVAL OF THE EMPEROR MONTEZUMA
(Imaginative drawing based on old Spanish Chronicles)

portant dates in stone carvings and these monuments today serve as one of the most important means of unravelling the complex story of New World prehistory. About 800 A. D., the centers of Mayan civilization shifted from southern Guatemala into northern Yucatan and great cities, such as Chichen Itza, were built. The reasons for this shift are not positively known, but it is believed that the peculiar agricultural system of the Maya, based on clearing the jungle by fire before planting, had destroyed the forests of their original homeland and introduced grass lands into the area. Such savannas were not productive under the agricultural methods then in use, and the dense population was forced to move on in search of new areas for cultivation.

The Mayas in the New World have justly been compared with the Greeks of the Old World, since they seem to have originated much of the culture which was taken over by later peoples of Mexico and farther to the north. Never strongly united, the great cities of the north fell into civil war and their power was broken by the advent of militaristic Toltec and Aztec warriors from the Valley of Mexico, whose civilizations were raised upon the substratum of Mayan accomplishment. It was the great militaristic Aztec empire which Cortez encountered in his desperate and dramatic march from the sea to what is today the capital of Mexico. The Aztec, less advanced in the arts and sciences than the Maya, had learned how to dominate and their great empire included many tribes. It is highly probable that Cortez and his little band of desperate men would never have been able to conquer these great warriors and empire builders save that the Valley of Mexico was already rent by civil war.

Contemporaneous with the Aztecs to the north were the Incas of Peru. The Incas, originally a small highland tribe dominated by an able aristocratic caste, in the course of a few centuries conquered all the western portion of South America from Chile to Colombia. Like that of the Aztecs, Inca civilization was based on the cultural and artistic achievements of several older civilizations centering around Lake Titicaca and the coast of Peru. One by one the remnants of these ancient empires fell before the organized Inca invaders and were incorporated into the

The Sioux warbonnet is not typical of all Indians.
Birdrattler, Medicine Man, Blackfeet, Montana.



great system of autocratic socialism which characterized the Inca rule. Tolerant of local religions, the Inca insisted only upon the worship of the Sun and the use of the Quechua language. When a province was conquered it was organized into districts under local headmen. Sons of the local chieftains were taken to Cuzco to be initiated into the arts and beliefs of the Incas. Should the conquered population prove rebellious they might be removed into other parts of the empire where, among strangers, they could do no harm. Land was allotted on the basis of families, trades were hereditary and all products, other than those of immediate subsistence, were regarded as the property of the state. Elaborate systems to prevent soil erosion and to irrigate dry areas were maintained. Natural resources such as wild, wool producing llamas were protected. Vast store houses were built in each district. Stone paved roads and bridges were constructed and a government messenger service installed. Thus, messages and produce could be carried from one end of the vast empire to the other in a few days.

All power eventually centered in The Inca, head of the original autocratic clan, who was regarded as the Son of the Sun. The divinity of The Inca was so highly regarded that The Inca married his sister in order that his heir might have no alien blood. A great convent or school existed for the daughters of the nobility where in seclusion they were taught the arts of weaving, and eventually might be chosen as concubines for The Inca or wives for the higher nobility. Likewise, a stern school of politics and warfare was maintained for the sons of the nobility. These were required to pass tests of hardihood and skill before they were admitted to the status of manhood. Here again, the Spaniards were fortunate in the time of their conquest. When Pizarro invaded the Inca empire he likewise found civil war. Unlike the somewhat looser Aztec empire, that of the Incas was so centralized that when, by a combination of boldness and political trickery, Pizarro seized and executed The Inca, the great decapitated system fell apart.

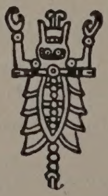
Such in brief are a few of the later and more dramatic episodes in the New World drama. The Indians of the Southwestern United States and the Mound Building peoples of the Missis-

Nearly a thousand years ago, North American Indians built and occupied many-storied stone cities. Mesa Verde, Colorado.

sippi Valley, developed primitive cultures of their own. Like the great empires of the Andes and of Central America, these civilizations of the northern border also arose upon a common agricultural base extending from Argentina to the St. Lawrence River. High as were the attainments of certain native populations in what is now the United States, it must be remembered that they were overshadowed by the great city states and empires of Mexico, Central America and western South America. It was in these latter regions that New World agriculture was first developed and it was there that native American civilization reached its zenith.

When European conquerors appeared upon the scene they were superior to the natives of the New World in methods of destruction and in some places they destroyed more than they have ever replaced. If the Europeans had steel and gunpowder, the natives of America had developed systems of agriculture superior to those then in use in Europe and their arts and philosophical systems while unique were infinitely complex and thoroughly adapted to the land of their development. The European conqueror brought to the American Indian, war, slavery, disease, and often extermination. The American Indian gave to Europe many of its most important present day food crops and medicines. Northern Europe without corn and potatoes, Africa without cassava, man the world over without rubber and tobacco, the tropics without quinine, would today be unthinkable. Yet each of these essential products was devoloped by the American Indian over millennia of experimentation and toil.

Thus, if there be any epilogue to this drama, it might be the recommendation that we who brought "civilization" to the American continent think gratefully of the many contributions which the truly native Americans have made to our own present-day life.



3.

CULTURAL AREAS OF NORTH AMERICA AND VARIATION AMONG TRIBES

The average American thinks of the Indian as an individual who used to wear a war bonnet and fringed buckskin leggings, who hunted the buffalo and lived in a tipi. This is a fairly accurate picture of members of certain tribes as they lived in the days before the white man brought them "civilization." But it is no more accurate as a description of the country's entire Indian population as it used to exist, than it would be for a visitor to the Austrian Alps to judge that all western Europeans wore conical hats with feathers in them and yodeled at the slightest provocation.

There were, and still are today, differences between the various American Indian tribes as wide as the differences between people of modern foreign nations. The American Indians, even today, speak hundreds of different languages and dialects. Even when reduced by the scientists to so-called language stocks, these Indians tongues are more numerous than the languages found in Europe and Asia combined.

The popular picture of the American Indian is that of the Indian of the Great Plains of the West. In his hey-day, the Plains Indian was truly a colorful figure, and showmen like Buffalo Bill took advantage of this fact to dress their Indian actors in picturesque regalia of the Plains tribes. Then, too, there were the Indian wars of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These troubles were largely with the Plains tribes and the skirmishes, battles and massacres found their way into the headlines and created the impression that the redmen of the Plains represented the typical Indian.

It has taken long, oft-times difficult, research work on the part of the scientists—the archaeologists and anthropologists—to recover reliable data concerning the past history of the American Indian. It has been literally a job of digging out the evidence. In this chapter some of the findings will be presented, showing how varied was Indian life among the many tribes of North America at the time the early colonists were settling along the eastern seaboard.

The student of Indian history has divided the North American continent into a number of what he calls "culture areas." In each of these areas, dwelt tribes having many characteristics in common. They lived in the same general type of home, they ate about the same sort of food, and their family, and tribal, and political groupings were very similiar. It may seem rather unimportant to base the scientific classification of a people on the kind of food they ate for dinner or on whether they sheltered themselves with roof of birchbark or a canopy of skin. But on further thought, it will be realized that it is these commonplace habits of peoples that we depend on most in distinguishing one group from another.

The Indian tribes who lived in the Great Western Plains area included the Sioux, Assiniboin, Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cheyenne, Comanche and others. These tribes hunted the buffalo. They gathered roots and berries. They were wanderers because they had to follow their food supply. They needed, therefore, a movable dwelling and in the tipi they evolved one. Forced to shift from place to place, they developed an efficient form of land transportation. They used the dog and in later times the horse, and they evolved a crude form of vehicle in the travois—a drag constructed of two poles attached to the dogs' or horses' backs. The arts and crafts of the Plains Indians centered around leather work. The skins of the buffalo, deer and elk were used for clothing; and for ornament they employed porcupine quills, which were later replaced by European beads. They had a primitive art based on designs usually of some geometric pattern. Their social organization was confined largely to the simple bands or clans—grouped in a camp-circle. There were societies for the men, somewhat after the fashion of a modern club or lodge. For social and religious activities there were the Sun Dance, scalp

The Plains Indians were wanderers.
Crow Tipis, Montana.

dances, war dances and other picturesque ceremonies which were held upon the return of victorious warriors.

In what is now Southern California, lived a type of Indian somewhat distinct from other western tribes. The acorn made into a bread or soup, constituted their chief vegetable food. This diet was supplemented by roots and berries, small game and fish. These Indians lived in crude brush shelters. They had no canoes and used rafts for water transportation. No traces of pottery work have been found, but basket weaving was highly developed. Their clothing was scanty. Their main weapon was the bow and arrow. Their social organization was simple. There was no such thing as social rank, but some recognition was given to ownership of property. Except for simple funeral ceremonies, they indulged in few religious ceremonials.

Along the Pacific, from what is now California to the Alaskan border, a very different type of Indian culture was to be found. The tribes depended largely on sea food. They lived in large rectangular plank houses and traveled chiefly by water in dug-out canoes. These canoes, constructed from solid logs were often fifty feet in length and could hold eleven men. The descendants of these tribes, in fact, still make these canoes which they use for racing on Puget Sound and its bays and sloughs. The Indians of the Pacific Northwest excelled in making fine baskets and they augmented rather sketchy clothing with a wide basket hat, used apparently for protection against the rain. For weapons they employed the bow and arrow, club and a peculiar type of dagger. In addition to their canoe building, their work in wood found expression in carved totem poles. Each family claimed a mythical origin of some sort and attempted to express their origin in the pole's carved figures. The totem pole, therefore, served very much the same function that was served by the European coat of arms. As might be expected of a people who paid so much attention to their ancestry, the society of these Indians was marked by well-defined class distinctions. They were not very democratic, and grouped themselves into chiefs, nobles, common people and slaves.

To the East, in the area between Lake Superior and the St. Lawrence valley, were such tribes as the Ojibwa, or Chippewa,

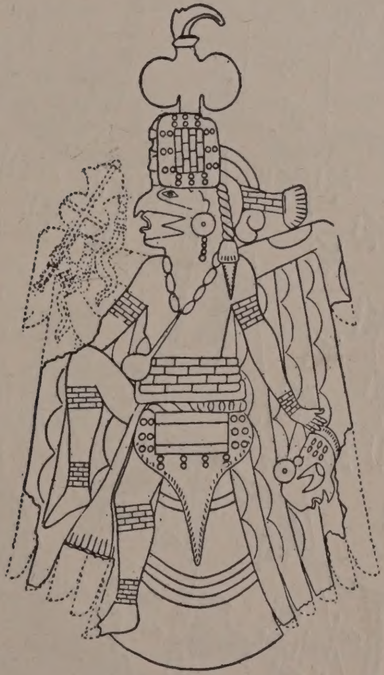
The Indians of the Great Lakes lived in bark wigwams. Some still do.
Chippewa (Ojibwa), Red Lake, Minnesota.

Menominee, Sac and Fox, and Winnebago. These Indians were expert in hunting and fishing, and at the same time were skilled in gardening and small farming. They raised corn, squash and beans, and gathered wild rice. They made little or no pottery and used instead vessels of wood and bark. Their winter homes were dome shaped affairs, covered with bark and mats. In summer they lived in rectangular bark houses. Transportation in birchbark canoes and dugouts was highly developed. Snowshoes were common. Their clothing was made chiefly of the skins of small animals and their weapons were the bow and arrow and clubs. Further east the Iroquois and their related tribes were in many ways the most advanced Indians of this region. They were perhaps the best agriculturists and potters. They lived in long houses; built formidable fortifications. Many of the tribes in this Eastern area had no strong political organization, but the Iroquoian tribes were an exception. By political methods which would be recognized today, they built up the"League of the Six Nations," which is one of the most interesting developments of American Indian history.

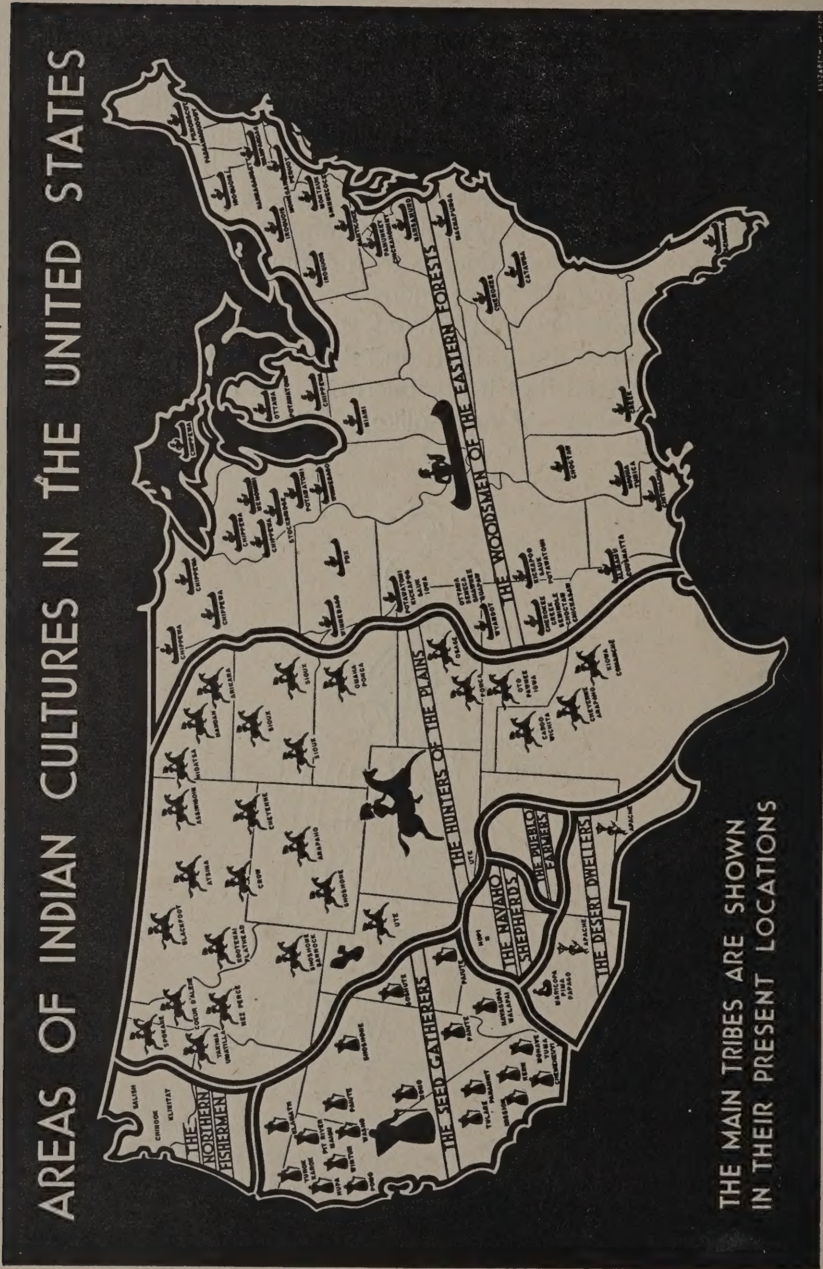
Going now to what is known as the Southeastern area, there lived such tribes as the Cherokee and Yuchi. They made great use of vegetable food. Their settlements were well fortified with palisades. They built temples for worship of the sun, where a fire was kept perpetually burning. They carried on elaborate harvest ceremonies, and had a complex clan system composed of chiefs and four grades of subjects. The chiefs were regarded as being under the sacred influence of the Sun God, a belief which may have drifted north from some of the tribes of South America.

In what is now New Mexico and Arizona and a portion of Old Mexico, lived the Hopis, and Zunis, and other Pueblo Indians of the Southwest. Here was found hundreds of years ago, something that we fondly imagine as a modern development—feminine equality. The Pueblo Indians depended mainly upon corn and other cultivated foods, and it was the men that did the cultivating. And they, and not the women, did the weaving, ground the grain, and made the pottery. The women were the chief property owners and their voice in public affairs was as influential as that of the men, if not more so. These Indians built many-roomed dwellings made of sun-dried adobe brick, or of stone. Where possible they hunted buffalo and deer; for smaller game they employed a kind of boomerang. Woven robes were the common form of clothing. Art flourished; their pottery was highly decorated and they made elaborate ceremonial paintings. Their political system was efficient. Each village was independent and had a governor and a war chief; final decisions, however, rested with a high priest or religious officer. The Pueblo Indians were extremely religious and many of their ceremonies have come down to the present day in such dances as the Hopi Snake Dance, the Corn Dance and the Rain Ceremony.

It has been difficult in limited space to attempt any detailed explanation of the division and differences between Indian tribes, but it is hoped that it has been possible to dispel the idea that all Indians were—or are—alike.



Dancer wearing eagle costume and carrying a head or eagle mask. Temple mound, Etowah, Georgia.


AREAS OF INDIAN CULTURES IN THE UNITED STATES
THE NORTHERN FISHERMEN
THE SEED GATHERERS
THE HUNTERS OF THE PLAINS
THE WOODSMEN OF THE EASTERN FORESTS
THE NAVAHO SHEPHERDS
THE PUEBLO FARMERS
THE DESERT DWELLERS
THE MAIN TRIBES ARE SHOWN IN THEIR PRESENT LOCATIONS
SALISH
CHINOOK
KLIKITAT
SPOKANE
COEUR D'ALENE
YAKIMA UMATILLA
NEZ PERCE
BLACKFOOT
KOOTENAI FLATHEAD
ATSINA
CROW
ASSINIBOIN
HIDATSA
MANDAN
ARIKARA
SIOUX
CHEYENNE
ARAPAHO
SHOSHONE
SHOSHONE BANNOCK
UTE
OMAHA PONCA
CHIPPEWA
WINNEBAGO
FOX
MENOMINI
OTTAWA
POTAWATOMI
MIAMI
IROQUOIS
CHEROKEE
CATAWBA
CREEK
CHOCTAW
SEMINOLE
OSAGE
PONCA
OTO PAWNEE IOWA
KIOWA COMANCHE
CADDO WICHITA
CHEYENNE ARAPAHO
HOPI
APACHE
MARICOPA PIMA PAPAGO
HAVASUPAI WALAPAI
MOHAVE YUMA CHEMEHUEVI
PAIUTE
WASHO
KLAMATH
PIT RIVER
HUPA
YUROK KAROK
POMO
TULARE

Copyright 1939, by Covelo Indian Community.

4.

INDIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN CULTURE

One generally thinks of the Indian at the receiving end in the process of civilization. Few recognize the extent and significance of Indian gifts to the white immigrant. Imagine modern civilization without tobacco, rubber, cotton, potatoes, corn! All these were cultivated plants, some with varieties that must have required thousands of years to develop, when white men first landed in the New World.

The so-called "Irish" potato which graces the table of almost every American and European home came from Peru where it was cultivated by the Incas. Many a European country, threatened by famine in the past, was saved by the common white potato imported from America.

The planting, the storing, the preservation and the preparation of "Indian" corn was taken over entirely by the white immigrants. Today corn for fodder for animals is as important as sweet corn, corn bread, corn meal, succotash, hominy and popcorn are to the American people.

The list of foodplants, cultivated by the Indian for thousands of years before the whites came, reads like an inventory of our daily sustenance: Arrowroot, beans—lima, string and kidney, buckwheat, cocoa, cranberries, strawberries and other berries, maize, maple sugar, melon family, peanuts, hickory and Brazil nuts, pears, peppers, pineapple, potatoes—white and sweet, pumpkins, squash, tapioca and vanilla.

How much less interesting one's gustatory life would be had Columbus not discovered America!

Had the Indians not taught the early colonists how to plant, raise, fertilize, and store corn, they might not have survived to celebrate the first Thanksgiving, and the settlement of America might have been delayed for many years.

The rubber that the first Spanish "conquistadores" found Indians bouncing on the public courts of Mexico City about 1520 has become one of the sinews of modern civilization. Whole industries have been built around it. Medicine as well as a large sector of our industrial life, is indebted to the Indians who first discovered and utilized rubber. Elastic, syringe-like bottles were made by certain South American tribes of a species of rubber that is the most important source of the world's rubber supply today. Scientific research, medical and hospital techniques make great use of rubber instruments.

It is difficult to conjure up a picture of the modern world without its cigarettes, or Turkey without hookas or water pipes, or France of the 17th or 18th centuries without snuff, or American political life without cigars, and chewing tobacco. It is of interest that tobacco was first introduced into Europe as a medicine, although, as a source of enjoyment, it rapidly became a very integral part of the world culture, both savage and civilized. Among many primitive people of the Old World, tobacco, so completely native to the Americas in name and substance, has become a part of the ritual and sacrament of religion.

Indian medicines became very popular in Europe soon after the discovery of America. Practically all of the medicinal plants that grew wild on the American continent were known to the Indians and used by them before the white man came. Natives of Bolivia and Peru chewed leaves of the cocoa plant to dull pain long before the Spaniards appeared. It is difficult to conceive of medical progress without cocaine which made possible long and dangerous surgical operations. Merely to list Indian medicines would take up the rest of the chapter. A few of the best known are *cocaine*, *quinine*, *cascara*, *witch-hazel*, and *arnica*.

Cotton is probably the only important plant that was found and cultivated independently in both the New and the Old World. Although there are many species of cotton, the *Gossypium Hirsutum* of the New World is the basis of the world's cotton supply today.

Pueblo men wove cotton cloth on a loom long before the Spaniards introduced sheep into the Southwest. Since that time, Navajo women have carried almost to perfection an art which, it is believed, they learned from their more peaceful and sedentary neighbors after the introduction of sheep. Navajo wool blankets and rugs have taken their place in American life, in art as well as in use.

Not only have the Indians through their domesticated plants contributed to the bulk of agricultural production in the United States today, but American recreational life is peculiarly tinged with Indian culture. Canoes, snowshoes, toboggans, hammocks, tents, and moccasins form the physical basis of camp life. But even more, Indian woodlore gave to modern America the technique of living in the woods, of stalking game, and catching fish.

The Indian gave us the continent. Rather we took it by fair means and foul—rarely by gift. Sometimes it was by purchase, when very often the individual Indians had no authority to sell and sold for some beads and a pot of paint; but most frequently by cession, by treaty, by arms, by physical occupation,—in short, by every means available to the human race for acquiring that which it desired.

The sale of Manhattan to the Dutch for $24 worth of goods was not unique. The archives of Pennsylvania, like those of many other states contain records of agreements of this nature. One, drawn up in 1673, states that the "natural inhabitants" of a tract of desirable land along the Delaware River, sold it to some white men for one-half ankor of drink, two match coates, two axes, two bars of lead, four handfuls of powder, two knives and some paint.

The Indian gave us the country, but not as an uncharted wilderness. Long before the white man came, the Indian was familiar with places hundreds of miles apart. The Plains Indians were known to have gone two thousand miles on war parties against other tribes. The activities of the Iroquois took them to the Black Hills of South Dakota and as far south as Florida. Indian federations, whether for peace or war, required a knowledge of the country.

Not only war, but the more peaceful pursuits of hunting, fishing, trading, and visiting took the Indian far from home over trails worn down by generations. Buffalo and deer were followed in their seasonal migration. Western Indians traveled by long trails to salt licks, to secure for use and trade, shell, turquoise, and clay for pottery.

Maps of the colonial period, together with old records, show a network of Indian trails over practically the entire continent. The Indian's skill in laying trails to the best camp and water sites, hunting and fishing grounds, over the easiest mountain passes, along the easiest ridges, and through the safest water courses, was at once a boon to the whites and a boomerang to the Indian. The trapper, trader, hunter, soldier and colonist had but to walk in the Indian's tracks, or hire an Indian guide, to conquer his country. Today we have the Oregon, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Santa Fe Trails.

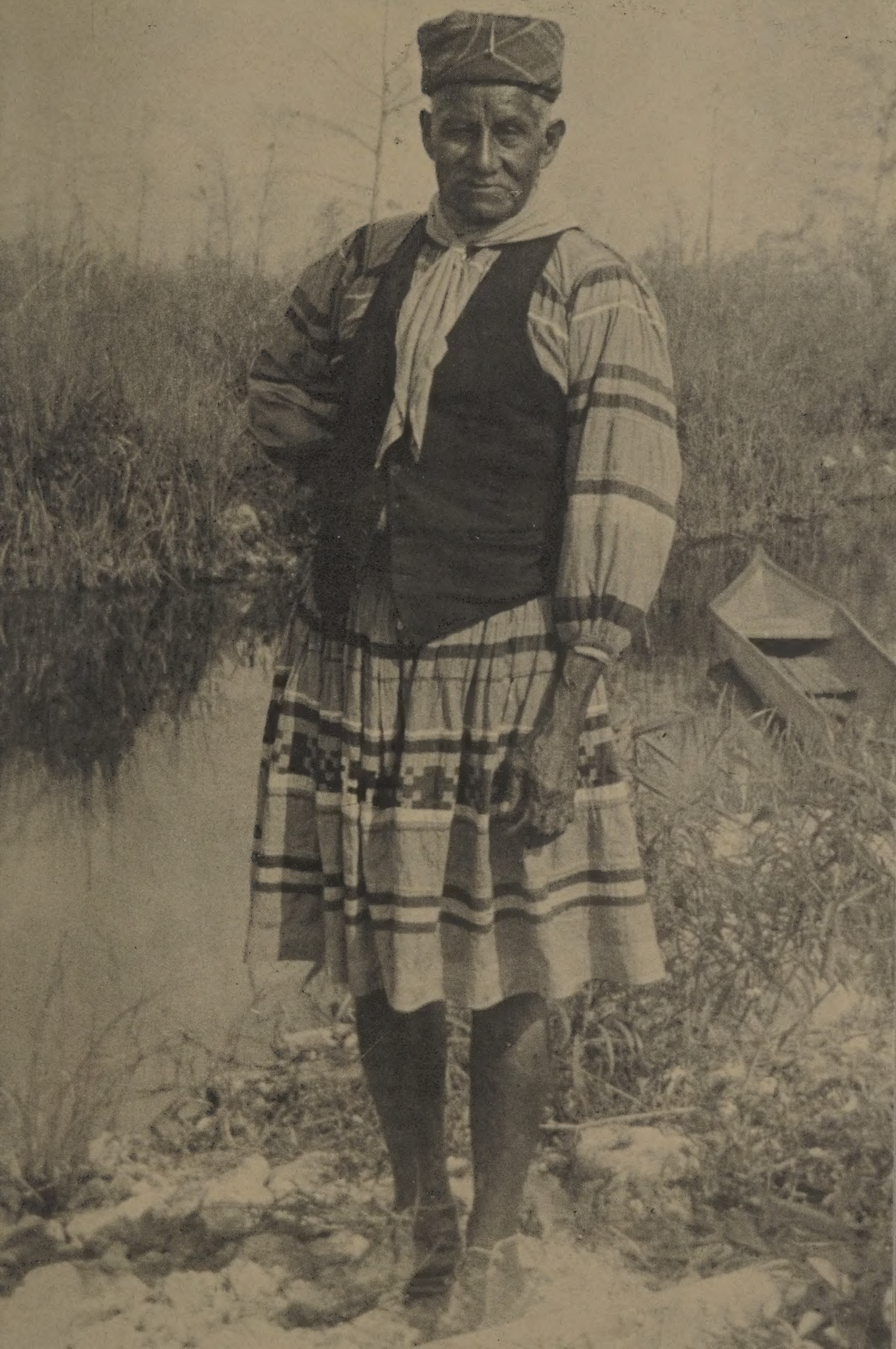
Professor F. J. Turner describes that inevitable process of gifts and conquest:

"The buffalo trail became the Indian trail, and this became the traders' 'trace,' the trails widened into roads, and the roads into turnpikes, and these in turn were transformed into railroads. The trading posts reached by these trails were on the sites of Indian villages which had been placed in positions suggested by nature; and these trading posts, situated so as to command the water systems of the country, have grown into such cities as Albany, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, Council Bluffs, and Kansas City."

Although his native country has passed forever out of the Indian's hands, he has given with it his indelible mark in the very placenames by which we know it. Half of the states of the United States, and Alaska, derive their names from Indian sources; Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Connecticut, Dakota, Nebraska, Mississippi, Missouri, and Minnesota, to name a few.

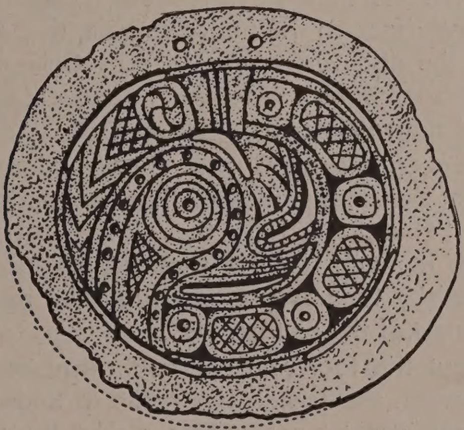
The technique of woodcraft, which is so integral a part of American life, from the budding Boy Scout to the mountain guide, draws its material as well as inspiration from Indian culture. Catching fish by torchlight and weirs, calling moose, trailing game noiselessly, scouting, signalling, all these are part of our heritage. When American explorers go out to conquer new lands, they take with them symbols of their Indian conquest—pemmican for food, tents and sleeping bags for shelter, moccasins, snowshoes, skin suits for clothing, and canoes for transportation.

A Seminole Leader in typical costume.
Big Cypress, Florida



So much for the tangible gifts of Indian civilization to the white immigrants. When we try to appraise the intangible gifts we reach the realm of speculation. Yet it seems that certain basic traits of American life were not brought to this country by the Spanish Conquistadores or the French Voyageurs or the Pilgrims, or the Irish immigrants of the 1850's or the European immigrants of the 1890's. The first white immigrants found in native America at least two human ideals that we like to think of as characteristically and typically American—the first, a personal ideal of physical perfection, courage, and athletic prowess; the second, a social ideal of self-reliance, equality, and democracy.

Some students of ethnology hold that the very form of our Federal Government was built on the pattern of Iroquois confederacy. Certain it is that the constitution of the Iroquois, which had been in existence for many years before the American Revolution, presented at once a model and a challenge to the English colonies of the New World. But that is a story in itself.



Whorl of large sea shell with incised design of spotted serpent and world symbol. Found in burial site, Etowah mounds, Georgia.

Ancient basketry serves a new purpose with modern poultry. San Carlos Apache, Arizona.

5.

HISTORY OF INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS

We generally think of Indian and white relations beginning when Columbus first set foot on the Island of San Salvador to plant the cross of Spain in the name of Isabella, his Queen and sponsor, while Indians stood back in awe of these strange creatures they thought were gods. Scientific evidence indicates, however, that white contact began more than five hudred years before that time with the Norsemen, and later with the Basque Whalers. These early contacts were so infrequent, however, and had so little permanent effect on the native culture, that one may truthfully say that the discovery of America by Columbus marks the beginning of white contact in terms of conquest and settlement, and the end of native America.

Many years ago, Rufus Choate, a lawyer famous for his wit and after dinner speeches, remarked that the Pilgrims upon reaching America, "First landed on their knees then on the aborigines." There is much truth in that old saw and its edge has not been dulled by time or use, although like most epigrams it discloses only part of the picture.

Throughout the four and one-half centuries since the discovery of America, the Indian has come to know white culture through five immigrant types—the explorer, the missionary, the trader, the settler, and the Government agent. The explorers of America from Columbus to Lewis and Clark had very little effect on the everyday life of the Indian tribes they met. Some explorers were satisfied merely to explore, others like the Spanish "conquistadores" settled on the land to exploit its resources and its people. Many Indians were killed or kidnapped as strange creatures to be displayed before the courts of Europe, or forced to work in the mines of Mexico and Peru. But the Indians of what is now the United States were more fortunate. They had no gold to plunder, nor did they live in the fabled Seven Cities of Cibola which Coronado sought in vain.

The explorers, as such, needed help from the Indian—particularly food and guidance. Most famous of all of the Indian guides was the Indian maiden Sacajawea, who led Lewis and Clark across the Rockies in the beginning of the last century.

In exchange for food and guidance, the explorer offered firearms and firewater, but not in sufficient quantity to do much harm. Indirectly, the Spanish explorers brought one gift which revolutionized the life of the Plains Indians. A few of the horses brought over from Spain escaped, found their way on to the Western Plains and multiplied. There the Indians found a new source of power in hunting and warfare.

Because they did not settle definitely in one place, the explorers did not affect the tenor of Indian life. The long intervals between the visits of explorers served further to dilute white influence.

The missionary, called by some Indians, the "first good white man," set a new note in Indian and white relations. He was interested in them as people. He lived among them, affected their way of life, dressed them in white men's clothing, educated their children in white ways, and was interested in their physical as well as spiritual welfare. Living among the Indians, he taught them what he knew of sheep and wool, wheat, metal tools, medicine and general science.

The influence of the missionary varied from complete domination of a tribe by the church, to almost complete assimilation of the church into the native culture. Spanish missionaries in the Southwest made no attempt to turn the new world into a white man's country.

The trader was interested in furs, not in converting the Indian. His livelihood depended upon friendly business relations. His ethics were the recognized business ethics of the time. He sold the Indians anything they would buy in exchange for pelts. They bought ammunition, firearms, knives, axes, cloth, drink, paint, mirrors, beads—all the things Indians were supposed to like and came to need.

So flagrant was the use of liquor by the private traders as a means of closing a deal, that despite their complaint that, "Without liquor we cannot compete in trade," President Washington urged and approved the Act of April 18, 1796, which established government trading houses to protect the Indians against liquor and to guarantee to them a fair deal. Some traders, like the French "coureurs des bois" (travelers of the woods), who were the advance guard of French civilization, settled permanently among the Indians, intermarried and became "Indianized." But their case was unique. Other traders stimulated the land-hungry whites with the tales they brought back of the rich land of the interior.

All through the colonial struggle between France and England to dominate the fur trade, the Indians were used as a tool. The introduction of firearms in quantity permitted one tribe to dominate others, and gave rise to some of the bloodiest warfare.

Remote tribes welcomed the trader for the firearms he brought.

The first permanent European settlement in this country at St. Augustine, Florida, in 1565, marked the beginning of the struggle for domination of America by European countries. The English, French, Dutch, Spanish, and Swedish settlers each brought their own background and colonizing methods, some more humane, some less. The result, however, was typical of the invasion by land-hungry white colonists throughout the world. First they wrested for themselves by force a small piece of land for a trading post or fort. Next they pushed out from that settlement and drove the natives into the interior. Finally they took control of all of the land and segregated the natives on small pieces of land known as reservations.

The destructive impact of the white settlers upon Indian life was much greater than any impact made by explorer, trader, or missionary. For the settler wanted what the Indian needed for his existence—land and the natural resources of the country. The settler was not interested in getting products from the Indian as was the trader, or giving something to the Indian as was the missionary. For him the Indian was merely an obstacle to the exploitation of the natural wealth of the country. And so arose the phrase, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian."

The frontier settler moved west with his rifle, his axe and his plow. Virgin sod was turned, timber was cut and burned, and the wildlife of the country was destroyed at a terrific pace.

Steadily the Indian territory was diminishing in extent and the natural resources within that territory were likewise diminishing. The Indian found himself deprived of his garden plots and his game reserves.

There is a fifth figure that demands attention in the pageant of white man's relationship with the native population—the figure of the government agent. It was the government agent, in the beginning an army officer, who officially represented the white race to the Indian tribes. The government agent represented the interests of the trader, the missionary, and the settler. To this day the Government regulates trade beween Indians and white traders.

But in those days the government agent largely represented the interest of the settler. The chief task of the government agent for the first 150 years of our national existence was to secure Indian land for the use of white settlers. In the main, land was secured through the form of treaties negotiated between the United States and the various Indian tribes. The land taken was usually paid for at rates varying from one cent to two dollars an acre. The first treaty made by the United States was with the Delawares September 2, 1778. By 1840 Indians had surrendered practically all of the territory east of the Mississippi River. A few reservations remained in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan and New York; and small groups, survivors of once powerful tribes, still maintained their ancient ways in all of the Eastern States from Maine to Florida. But the country west of the Mississippi, except for settlements in Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, was legally and actually Indian country in 1840.

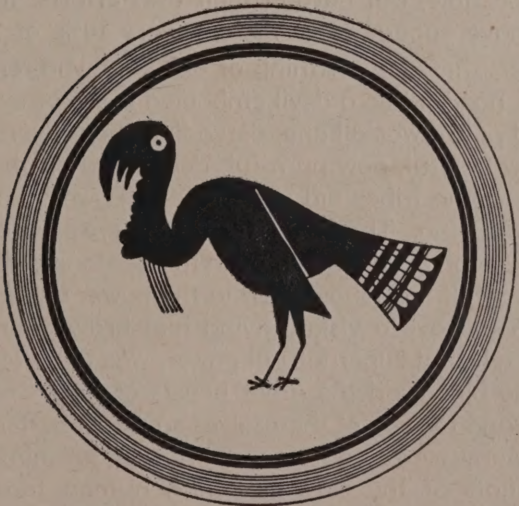
The westward movement of the settlers continued, however, stimulated by the discovery of gold in California in 1849 and by the population pressure of the industrialized East after the Civil War. The years between 1851 and 1880, mark the period of the fiercest armed conflict with those Indian tribes who attempted to resist the white settlers. In this same period the greater number of Indian reservations were established. Each reservation meant the relinquishment to the United States of large areas of land previously claimed by the respective Indian tribes. This land was immediately opened for homesteading by white settlers or given away by Congress to railroad companies or to the new states that were being established west of the Mississippi. For a time the reservation boundaries were respected by the white settlers, but as the settlers increased in number methods were soon devised whereby settlers might secure a share of these reservation lands. New treaties were made with Indian tribes diminishing the area of such reservations. Large portions of Indian reservations were ceded to the United States for cash payments or annuities.

Even the allotment system by which individual Indians received personal title to reserved land came to be used as a most effective method for securing the transfer of Indian reservation lands to the white settlers. Under this system reservation lands were first divided up and allotted to individual members of a tribe. Then the individual Indian might sell his portion of the land for cash. Many statesmen who advocated this system thought that a share of individual land was all the Indian needed to become a successful independent farmer. But the Government failed to provide adequate farm equipment and the vocational education necessary to bring this about.

For the most part the western Indians had paid little attention to agriculture and lived mainly by the chase. Thus the individual Indian had no hesitancy about signing a paper document relinquishing title to his allotment of land in exchange for cash that meant food or drink or any of the inventions of the white man's civilization from firearms to automobiles. The allotment system meant also that when each individual Indian had received his forty, eighty or one hundred and sixty acres as the case might be, the remainder of the reservation would be ceded outright to the United States Government or opened to settlement on condition that the white settler paid for the surplus Indian land at a fixed rate. In 1887 Indians still owned approximately 138,000,000 acres. In 1934, when the allotment system was brought to an end this huge area had shrunk to approximately 52,500,000 acres.

In this way the white man has acquired all but a small portion of the huge area that the Indian tribes once controlled. Of the land that is left to the Indians fully half is desert, prairie and mountainside. Even this area has been depleted of the natural resources upon which the Indian originally depended. Most important of these resources was the buffalo of the Plains.

The government agent now had a new task to add to the business of keeping peace and making treaties. This was the task of caring for "wards of the Government" who had lost the basis of their economic existence. The Indians, deprived of their tribal lands through treaties they did not understand and through an allotment system that they never wanted, deprived of many of their leaders through a long series of bloody battles, deprived of their principal food supply and of their principal occupation—hunting, came to look upon the government agents to supply all of these deficiencies. The Government in its turn was glad to feed rather than fight, the Indian. The system of paternalism and bureaucracy that developed out of this situation is well known today. Its effect on Indian psychology is well summed up in a remark made but a few years ago by Max Big Man of the Crow tribe, who explained his opposition to Indian self-government in this fashion: "Once we had the buffalo," he said. "The buffalo gave us our food, our clothing, our houses, our tools, our fuel. Then the white man came and killed our buffalo. Now the white man is our buffalo."



Brush painted turkey design inside white bowl.
Mimbres Region, Southwest New Mexico.

6.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIALISM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Religion, to the ancient Indian, was a practical necessity. He lived in a hard world where the mere getting of food seemed sometimes beyond human power. Without help from something beyond themselves, men felt they could hardly stave off illness and face their daily tasks. So they appealed to the unseen world. Through the centuries, different groups worked out procedures for making the corn and the wild plants grow, multiplying the food animals and curing disease. Not that they did not also work as hard as possible, but beyond their own efforts, they felt that they must have supernatural aid in every task of daily life.

However, they did not think of one God who represented all the forces of good, while a devil embodied those of evil. To them, supernatural power was all one, pervading the universe and showing itself now helpful, now harmful, depending on the way it was approached. Some tribes did not think of Power as embodied in any particular Being. The Sioux, for instance, spoke of Wakanda, the mysterious force which is in everything, stones, animals, men. At any moment, it may show itself in the power of beast to speak, or of a man to have a vision giving him bravery or knowledge. Other tribes felt that supernatural power, was to be found particularly with the birds and the great beasts of prey who knew how to find food and to protect themselves so much better than primitive man. Many tribes had legends that these animals were the first inhabitants of the earth, wearing human form until they chose to abandon it for feathers and fur. Now they could be

The Kiva, religious center of the cliff dwellers, functions today in the neighboring pueblos, San Ildefonso, New Mexico.

asked to help men in their difficult life, as the Osage used to call on:

> "the little mottled lynx that lies outstretched
> He who is our grandfather,
> A person of great courage."

Not only the animals but the sun, the mist, the wind, even plants might sometimes speak to men in blessing.

The manner of this was different in every group, for we cannot think of the Indians as one people, with one religion. Among the Algonkins, who lived around the Great Lakes and the Upper Mississippi, no child, boy or girl,was allowed to come to maturity until he had spent nights alone, fasting in the woods, waiting for the Nature Powers to give him a dream which would promise courage and success in life. Again and again the child must try until the Sun or the Thunderbird or other agency had spoken. If this did not happen, he was a "poor" person, who could never hope to succeed.

On the Plains, where the Sioux passed dangerous lives in hunting the buffalo, it was only boys who must have the vision. The youth who was ready for it, took a sweat bath in a tiny hut where steam was made by pouring water on hot stones. Then he was outwardly pure and he made himself purer by fasting for four days, eight days, or even more. That time he spent in a lonely place, out of sight or sound of men, weeping because of his great desire and calling to the Sun and the other mysterious powers:

> "Have pity on me! Have pity on me!"

Sometimes he cut off one of his own fingers as an offering. "Because," he explained, "we cannot offer animals or plants. They already belong to Wakanda. All we can really give is our own flesh and blood."

White men, who think of the Sioux only as cruel fighters, do not realize this profoundly religious side of their nature. In their desire for visions, they tortured themselves as much as mediaeval monks. The Sun Dance, their most famous ceremony was an ordeal endured by many men together, in honor of the Sun, who would send them visions.

North American heraldry—the totem pole is a record of family and clan relationship. Haida-Tlinget Indians, Southeast Alaska.

Beyond the Rocky Mountains there were other ways of getting a vision. Perhaps, a boy leaped into a mountain pool at night, so that the powers would take him beneath the waters and tell him how to acquire strength. Perhaps he only waited, showing all the industry and courage he could, until he fell asleep someday and had a dream which promised him success. Then he might be led inside the mountains and told how the world began, or he might hear an animal singing as the eagle sang to a Papago:

"The sun's rays lie along my wings
And stretch beyond their tips."

Such visions were for any man, just as conversion is for any man, in the white churches. But there were specially favored people, too. Most medicine men got their ability to cure, from visions like the other members of the tribe only their visions were longer and more frequent. Medicine among Indians was not a matter for science, even though they might know something about healing herbs and about bandaging and bonesetting. With them curing was first of all, a matter of singing, of brushing away the evil with feathers and blowing it away with the incense of tobacco smoke. The cure itself was a faith cure, just as it was in the white world many centuries ago and is, in some parts, still. No wonder then that, when the white doctor has done everything his science demands, an Indian patient still wants his own medicine man for the singing that will strengthen his faith.

There were parts of the Indian world where the vision was not the chief way to make contact with Power. In highly organized tribes like the Creek and Choctaw of the Southeast and the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest, there were regular priests. These were not medicine men, for a medicine man is a glorified dreamer who is to a priest what a revivalist preacher is to an ordained clergyman in the white world. Both have a message, but the revivalist has received his as an inspiration, without any training; the clergyman has been through a period of learning. In a very formal church, he has even learned exact words for services and prayers.

Some Indian groups had also their set services, as beautiful as any churchly pageantry of the past or present. Like those of of our more formal churches, they included sermons, prayers that must be learned by heart, and oft repeated hymns. Here for instance, is a prayer, recited by the rain priests of Zuni. Their village has been raising corn since before the white man came, but it is situated in desert country and if rain does not fall in summer, its people starve. So the priests go into an inner room, to fast for eight days and to pray to the Powers who send the clouds:

> "Your little wind blown clouds
> Your great masses of clouds
> Replete with living waters
> You will send forth to stay with us.
> Your fine rain caressing the earth
> Your heavy rain caressing the earth
> . . . .
> With your great pile of waters
> You will come together.
> . . . .
> All the different kinds of corn
> Nourishing themselves with their father's waters
> Tenderly will bring forth their young."

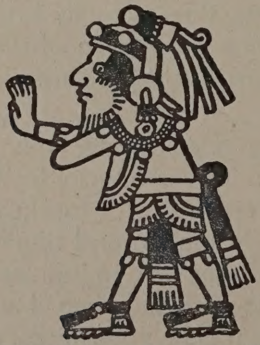
Such a prayer is poetry, and if we had more translations of Indian ritual, we might realize how rich in such art it is. There are other arts also. Indian pageantry could not express itself in stone cathedrals nor in stained glass windows, but it could and did use costume. Any one who has seen a Pueblo ceremony with its hundred or more performers, dressed just alike, can testify to the beauty of their kilts of creamy native cotton, embroidered in black and green, the strings of turquoise, the swaying fox skins, the nodding feathers. No churchly procession of the middle ages was any more colorful. Sometimes the performers wear masks of intricate workmanship and in that case, they represent supernatural beings, with faces different from those of men. The Pueblos, like many other tribes, believe that men may put on the regalia of the gods and thus actually bring supernatural power among them. Therefore the masked beings who dance in the plaza of a southwestern Pueblo are the very spirits of the rain, bringing blessing.

They bring it by dancing, for this among Indians, both Pueblos and others, is not a mere social festivity. It can be that, of course, but when you see a line of masked figures stamping the earth to the sound of drumming and singing, you know that it is not for pleasure. The dance among Indians is like the church procession among Christians. Even when it includes the leaping of men costumed as deer, it is no entertainment. Rather it is the enacting of a sacred drama which shows how men want the rain to fall and the deer to come to the hunter. If such a drama is performed according to ritual, every costume as the ancient priests prescribed it, every song correct, it has the effect of a prayer which will bring the desired event. With this in view, the different tribes represent the arrival of deer and buffalo, the grinding of corn, the sprouting of beans.

There are rules of behavior which help to bring supernatural aid, also. These do not concern such things as honesty and peacefulness, for those, most Indians think, a man should attend to for himself. What he must do for the unseen beings is to bring them offerings. He must fast at proper times. He must observe rules in his hunting so that the animals will not be cruelly and wastefully treated. He must perform any part given him in ceremonies.

He is surprised, when he enters the white man's world, to find the necessities of practical life all taken care of by science. No wonder he is offended to find farmers disturbing the earth without any prayers and doctors treating patients with nothing but medical equipment. White man's religion, seems to him removed from daily life. Even when he accepts it, he often does not want to give up his own ceremonies to bring the rain and cure the sick. Sometimes he actively participates in both Christian and Indian ceremonials with a reverent feeling toward both religions. The white man, who has grown so impersonal in his scientific attitude, may get a new sense of beauty from the Indian's feeling toward Mother Earth, Father Sky, or,

"our fathers,
Priests of the mossy mountains."



Quetzalcoatl, from Aztec carving, Mexico.

7.

INDIAN INDUSTRY

For a long period of years the Federal Government supported the American Indian by means of rations and grants. The Government never, however, furnished much more than enough to ward off starvation among the most impoverished of the 300,000 Indians. The sale or lease of Indian resources was once expected to support the Indians, but the income provided was so low that most of the tribes were forced to live in almost unbelievable misery and they had no opportunity to do anything themselves to improve their conditions of life. As a result, the average Indian saw no hope except to wait until his land was sold or the Government made him a grant.

Forward-looking people among the Indians as well as in the Indian Service have stressed the evils of this system for many years. While it was fully recognized that the Indians should be given a chance to earn their own living, it was extremely difficult to find a satisfactory means. The main sources of livelihood employed by the Indians up to the end of the last century (hunting and fishing), were rapidly disappearing and the Indians were slow to form new habits which would enable them to earn a living. If a tribe wanted to operate a sawmill, start a community farm, run a commerical factory, build a fish packing plant, or organize a livestock association, money was needed to buy many types of equipment. And the money was not available.

The present administration of the Indian Service has recognized the necessity of overcoming these genuine obstacles to Indian self-help, and of restoring the morale of the Indian by helping him to earn enough income to provide a decent living. The selling or leasing of resources, which brings the Indian only the rental value of the land and provides none of the wages and profits which the land should also yield, had first to be discontinued.

The Indian Service has estimated that if the Indians themselves worked all of their own resources they might derive an additional annual income in subsistence and cash which would be worth about $400 for each Indian.

The major possibilities of income for the Indians through working on their own resources lie in the development of agricultural products, livestock, forest products, oil and natural gas, handicrafts, water power, mines, and fish and game. The development of agricultural products and handicrafts is discussed elsewhere. Oil and natural gas, water power and such mineral resources as the Indians possess are chiefly leased to whites because of the large investment in capital necessary to develop them. How have the Indians utilized their remaining major resources, for building up their own livestock, their own fisheries, and their own forest product industries?

Many individual Indians on reservations own small herds of livestock which often do not exceed 20 cattle or sheep. These Indians frequently find it difficult to graze such small herds on the open range individually because they require constant attention to keep them from becoming mixed with other herds and from becoming lost. As a result, the small Indian stockowners have found it very desirable to combine these small herds into larger herds which can be efficiently managed on logical range units set aside for their use. The Indians have consequently formed livestock associations on many reservations for this purpose, and all expense connected with the management of these associations is prorated according to the number of livestock owned by each Indian. Some of the associations which graze their livestock on lands owned by individual Indians pay grazing fees for the use of such lands. No grazing fees are charged for land owned by the tribe, except where occasional individual members own disproportionately large numbers of livestock which would result in giving them an undue special privilege in the use of the common property of the tribe.

These associations employ herders to take care of the livestock. They also purchase the necessary salt and other supplies needed in caring for the animals during the grazing season. Furthermore, they sell their livestock as an association on the open market and are thus able to get better prices than they would by selling individually. The stock to be sold is graded so as to obtain the best market price. As each individual animal bears the owner's brand, the Indian receives the full market value of his animals, less such deductions as are necessary to pay the operating expenses of the association. The Indian Service assists these associations in their business transactions and in keeping the necessary records in connection with their enterprises.

At the close of 1948 the Indians owned approximately 411,000 head of cattle, 143,000 horses, 75,000 swine, and 640,000 head of sheep and goats. They received an income of over $43,000,000 from the sales of all agricultural products, including livestock. In addition, Indian-produced agricultural products consumed in their homes was valued at over $13,000,000.

The Indian income from fishing is not nearly so great as from the raising of livestock.Nevertheless, among the Indians of Alaska and Puget Sound, among the Paiutes of Pyramid Lake, and among the Chippewas of Grand Portage and Red Lake, fishing constitutes the greatest single source of subsistence and cash.

The most advanced development of fishing on any reservation has taken place at Red Lake. The fishing industry began there in 1917 as a war measure to increase the food supply of the country. This industry was carried on under an agreement with the State of Minnesota which provided that the Indians could catch and deliver fish to a fishery established by the State at Redby, which is located on the shore of Red Lake. The record indicates that more than 200 Indians have engaged in this industry annually. The catch has varied according to the season. The catch during the calendar year 1948 was 1,360,000 pounds, having a value of $315,000. After a few years of operation the Red Lake Indians organized the Red Lake Indian Fisheries Association and leased the fisheries at Redby from the State of Minnesota. The Indians have been carrying on this industry very successfully, including the catching, packing, selling, and shipping of the fish. A royalty of 5 percent of the gross receipts from the sale of fish is paid to the tribe which owns the fish in the lake.

A conspicuous form of Indian industrial activity is found in sawmill ventures. Most of these mills are small portable affairs which merely cut enough lumber to meet part of the agency needs. Some of them in addition cut varying amounts of lumber for

Indian homes. There are at present three mills which cut more than a million board feet annually. These are at Red Lake, Minnesota, the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin and on the Navajo.

The Menominee sawmill is a splendid example of the benefits which may be derived from Indian industrial activity. It originated in 1908 in a bill which was introduced by the late Senator Robert M. LaFollette and subsequently passed by Congress. At that time a big windstorm had laid low a large amount of timber on the reservation. Senator LaFollette felt that if this windthrown timber was sold to private companies the Indians would get only the stumpage value, but if the Indians themselves manufactured the lumber they would have a permanent source of wage work and also whatever profits might be derived. In his bill he inserted a clause, unique for those days, that the timber must be cut by selective logging in order to permit a perpetual operation. Practically all lumber mills in those days clear cut their timber. As a result when they had once gone over a tract of land it was ruined for generations, if not centuries, to come. Ruined too were the communities which depended upon it.

During the forty-two years which the Menominee sawmill has operated, tribally owned timber having a net stumpage value of more than $4,500,000 has been cut and the proceeds credited to the Menominee Indians. In addition, an operating profit of nearly $3,300,000 has been realized. The most important value of operation, however, has been in the wages paid out, which have averaged over four hundred thousand dollars a year. The greater share of these wages has gone to the Menominee Indian employees of the mill. During the fiscal year 1949 the mill cut $464,600 worth of stumpage and made a net profit of $154,000. The amount of wages paid out during 1949 totaled $1,085,005 of which over 82 percent went to the Indians or their families. Most of the important positions in the operation are now held by Indians. The whole life of the Menominee people centers around the successful conduct of this operation and, unlike many tribes, the Menominee Indians have a relatively high standard of

Indian loggers, exploiting Indian forests for Indian profit.
Navajo Service, Arizona.

living and a genuine possibility for an interesting, self-supporting life.

With the income received from the mill, the Menominee tribe pays for the operation of its hospital, and for the major school on the reservation, both managed by the Catholic church. The administrative costs on the reservation are also paid out of tribal funds. A very small amount of Federal money is spent on these Indians.

All of these industrial activities which have been briefly discussed depend for their continuation upon the conservative use of the resources upon which they hinge. The livestock industry of the Indians will be ruined if the range which feeds the livestock is not protected from deterioration through overgrazing. The fishing industry will be a thing of the past unless reasonable regulations for preserving the fish supply are enforced. The forest industry will only be a short-lived affair, ending in the wreckage of the entire Indian culture dependent upon the forest, unless forestry and sustained yield management are practiced. Fortunately such conservation is being enforced generally throughout the Indian reservations.

If the Indians are to be happy human beings it is necessary that they have an adequate means of livelihood and enough activity to keep them interested in life. This is possible on many reservations through the use of their own resources in accordance with principles of conservation. Such Indian industrial activity is a major factor in the present program of the Indian Service for the well-being of the Indians of America.

Eskimo walrus hunters securing food, clothing and ivory.
Northern Alaska.

8.

INDIAN EDUCATION

If one studies some of the earlier relations of Indian tribes with their white neighbors, one finds evidence that older Indians recognized a need for their young people to learn many ways of the white man. Sometimes the acceptance of white man's tools or customs came about quite informally, as with the horse. First introduced by the Spaniards in Mexico, the horse's adaptation to Indian needs was so rapid that pioneers found the Plains Indians of the west already mounted, as the American nation began to push westward. In the same way the Indian discarded the bow and arrow for the rifle, as quickly as he could beg, barter or buy the white man's firearms. Many of the friendly Indian tribes recognized that these were not the only assets of the white man which they might advantageously acquire, if they were to continue to associate with whites and profit from their trade with whites. Early in the annals of our country are found requests from Indian tribal leaders for assistance from teachers and missionaries.

As time went on many of the unfriendly Indian tribes were brought into subjection by the white man. Most of the treaties negotiated by the Government in assigning the hostile Indians reserved lands, contained in the statement of the various things which the white man was prepared to do for the Indian in return for peace, a solemn obligation to educate the young Indians to become self-supporting citizens of the newly accepted sovereignty. The early Indian schools, however, sometimes confused this obligation to develop self-supporting citizens out of the younger Indians with the self-appointed task of converting them to Christianity. Many of the earlier teachers were imbued with the feeling that schools were primarily the agencies of white culture, and that the mere problem of making a living should take care of itself.

Another difficulty of these earlier days in the education of the Indian grew out of the belief that the Indian should be made over into a white man, so far as habits and beliefs were concerned, just as rapidly as possible. Many people believed that the future of the Indians lay in assimilation into urban white life as a wage worker, rather than in successful exploitation of the lands which have been reserved to the Indian by treaty.

The educational policy of the Indian Service has changed from time to time as educational thought in the United States has changed, with the result that the policy has, from period to period, represented internal conflicts. Today those in charge of Indian education feel keenly their responsibility to make self-supporting and self-respecting citizens out of the young Indians in the Federal schools.

Many Indian young people begin their education with a very real handicap in contrast to their white brethren. Despite the length of time that Indians and whites have been in contact with one another it is probable that four out of every five Navajo Indians do not speak English but depend entirey on the Navajo language. In the Dakota area the estimates of many day-school teachers are that one-third of the children first entering elementary school do not speak English. The proportion of non-English-speaking Indians varies, of course, from reservation to reservation. There are some Indians in Oklahoma, for instance, who speak English, and so far as they can remember, have never spoken anything else. The non-English-speaking Indian not only has to learn to speak English after he enters school but has to learn to think in English and then faces the further problem of learning to read after having grown up in a home which possessed no form of written record.

It is probable that no North American Indian tribe possessed a written language at the time the white man arrived. From contact with the written language of white men, Sequoyah, a mixed-blood Cherokee Indian invented a syllabary by which the Cherokees quickly learned to write their language—and published several newspapers. White missionaries developed written languages for many Indian tribes, such as the Choctaw, Ojibway, Sioux and other northern tribes. But today sixty-five thousand Navajo Indians speak a language, which until very recently, possessed no written form.

Teaching young people from homes like these, first, to speak English and, second, to read it, involves a year or more of effort which is unnecessary in the education of most white children. These difficulties complicate teaching problems in the Indian Service, because most teachers are trained in typical American colleges or universities for work in American public schools where this language problem usually does not exist. As a result, it has been necessary for the Indian Service to conduct summer schools which will help the teachers meet and solve problems of this type.

After the Indian wars many tribes were confined to reservations; therefore many persons who wished to help the Indian to citizenship believed that this involved getting him off the reservation and into American cities where he could work for wages and learn to live like white people in these cities. Often, this attempt has not been successful, first, because many white people prefer to employ persons of their own race; second, because in periods such as the depression of the 1930's the Indian wage worker was dismissed before the white man working beside him; and third because many Indians find that they prefer life in rural areas to even good wage employment in cities.

It is now recognized that in the lands called reservations, the Indian has many advantages which he can profitably learn to use. He is no longer confined to these areas or required to live there. The stigma which was at one time attached to reservation life has disappeared; plans can now be made in terms of the productive value to Indians of these lands when intelligently used.

Many acres of Indian lands have been lost to Indians. Today the better land on many reservations is leased to white men, and the Indian owner frequently lives in squalor on his rent money, which is never enough to support a family on what a white man would call a minimum standard of living. The Government schools, therefore, have undertaken to teach Indian boys and girls how to use their lands effectively themselves so that the leasing policy may be gradually terminated, and a body of successful Indian cattlemen and farmers gradually arise. The new Indian policy also aims to repurchase some of the alienated land for Indian use. This means that Indian schools must be flexible, suiting their educational programs to the needs of the areas in which they are operated.

With this objective in view, the vocational program becomes of greater importance than the academic program. This makes revolutionary changes necessary in some places. These are not always easy to bring about. In the Dakota country students in Indian high schools need to learn stock raising, for nature during the 1930's has shown the folly of attempting to farm the Great Plains areas. The Indian high schools in this region, therefore, must operate cattle ranches and train their students to do the things that a cattleman must do if he is to succeed in the business. The girls who will become wives of these cattlemen must be trained in subsistence gardening, poultry raising and craft work, all of which will help them to make better homes for their husbands and families.

In Oklahoma and other agricultural states many Indian boys need to be taught farming so that they may successfully use the fertile acres which they own. Some may be concerned with dairying or the raising of poultry or smaller livestock. Their experiences in school must realistically train them to solve the problems encountered by the small independent farmer. In the more urban areas of Oklahoma, many Indian youngsters need training which will enable them to earn their living by wage work. The schools, however must give them more experience and greater skill than white children who expect to do similar work, if they are to successfully compete with white boys and girls for jobs.

In the Southwest one of the major problems is the care of land. Tribal groups, which for centuries have lived by farming or animal husbandry are finding that the pressure of increasing land use through the years, has reduced the fertility of the soil. Water and wind erosion following overgrazing have made the land less productive. While this has been happening, the inhabitants have increased in number and are in greater need of the products of the soil. Scientific methods of soil conservation and erosion control must be taught to young people who will have to make a living from these depleted lands. Scientific methods of stock breeding must be taught to young Indians who will inherit herds of sheep whose wool is inferior to the wool produced a generation ago, so that the same number of better animals will produce more and better wool for market. In each of the Indian schools attempting to meet and solve its peculiar regional problem, the measure of success in teaching is the ability of its graduates to make a successful living as the result of their training.

By careful guidance and close cooperation with the Extension Service of the Indian Bureau every effort is being made to transfer the well-trained graduates of Indian schools to farms or ranches or industries where they may have the opportunity to practice on their own, what they have been taught. The basic challenge of these needs is tremendous. If the aspirations of the educational service can be realized, it will have played a very large part in the economic rehabilitation of a people which was deprived of its native culture and native ways of making a living by the coming of the white man.

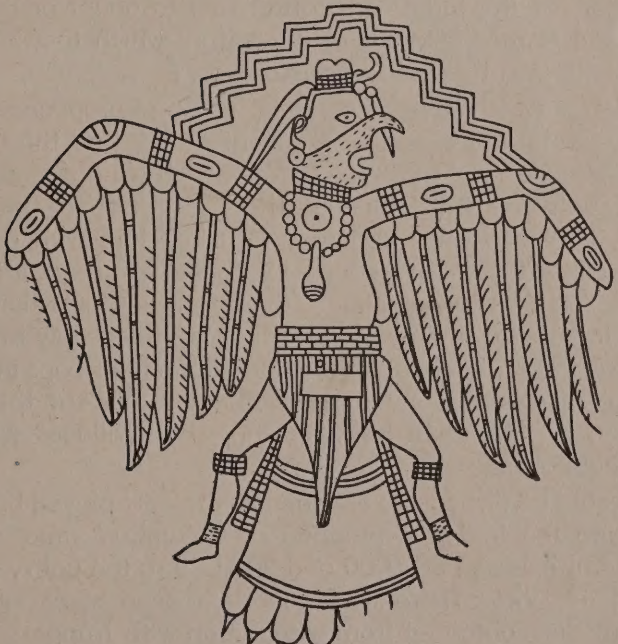
The Indian service, however, is responsible for the education of only a minority of the Indian children in the United States. Of approximately 92,296 Indian children of school age, 29,767 attend Federal schools, 7,813 are in mission or private schools, 16,860 are not enrolled in any school, and the remainder are attending public schools. About 12,000 of those not in school live on the Navajo Reservation in Arizona and New Mexico. During the year 1950 a former Army hospital at Brigham City, Utah, is being converted into a Navajo boarding school for 2,000 pupils.

While the educational problems of Indian Service discussed in this chapter are of tremendous importance to the students attending the schools which are controlled by the Federal Government, their proper solution will be of equal significance to the Indian and white boys and girls of many American rural schools. The Indian Service in its educational program may show a way to remake and improve much of American rural education.

These statements regarding the practical issues to be faced in helping Indians to self-support are not to be interpreted as indication that higher education and the professions are closed to Indians.

As a result of the Indian Reorganization Act the Federal Government is making available annually many loans to Indian high school graduates to pursue advanced vocational training and to study in colleges and universities. Additional appropriations are also available to stimulate advanced study through scholarship grants. In addition, working scholarship opportunities are provided in Indian Service schools which enable young Indians to earn their board and room while in attendance at local colleges and universities.

Since the passage of the Reorganization Act more than 2,500 Indian boys and girls have secured educational loans. Today Indian college graduates are finding employment in the professions both within the Indian Service and in the world outside. More than 100 students a year are graduated from the postgraduate secretarial courses at Haskell Institute, and large numbers of Indian young people are securing post high school training in many skilled trades. In this manner it is believed that a balanced educational program is in the making.



Design on shell, Temple mound, LeFlore County, Oklahoma

9.

INDIAN HEALTH

Isolated as he was on a continent of his own, the American Indian had been protected from the diseases of the European world. When the whites invaded the continent they brought with them their own diseases, along with their culture, their domesticated animals and plants, and their religions. In his contact with the newcomers the Indian was often free to adopt or reject the additions to or modifications of his culture which they offered—but their diseases he could not escape.

Illnesses which were so common among Europeans as to be accepted as natural experiences of childhood, had through long experience developed in the blood of the whites a degree of natural immunity, which tempered their severity. To the Indian, however, they were new and they attacked him with a severity much greater than experienced by those who had introduced them. Measles, whooping cough, diphtheria and smallpox swept through Indian encampments and villages with deadly effect. As recently as 1917 influenza, after its attack on the troops in France, swept America with great severity and literally cut the Native population of Alaska in half, leaving whole villages without a living inhabitant.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the part played by disease in reducing the Indian population of Columbus' time, which is estimated at between 800,000 and 900,000 to the paltry 250,000 recorded in 1924. There had doubtless been some spread of white remedies, obtained from association with trappers, traders, explorers and missionaries, but their information at best was rudi-

Indian Children, freed from cultural pressure, react like children everywhere.
Santa Ana Pueblo, New Mexico

mentary. From 1824 until 1849, the Army Medical Corps contributed some service to the Indians. This work was transferred to the Department of the Interior at the time when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established, and for many years was administered by the Education Branch.

Since 1924 the Medical Director of the Indian Service Health Branch has been furnished by detail from the U. S. Public Health Service. A few other hospital and administrative medical personnel are furnished by the Public Health Service, but the rest of the personnel, serving 64 Indian Service hospitals and furnishing field medical and nursing service to 80 agencies, and to 8 hospitals and 30 clinics in Alaska are a professional corps devoted exclusively to the Indian Service.

The hospitals and sanatoriums in the States, ranging in size from 10 to 335 beds, have a total capacity of about 3,540 beds and nearly 400 bassinets and care for over 40,000 patients annually with 800,000 days of hospital treatment. The Alaskan hospitals, ranging in size from a dozen to 50 or more beds, have a capacity of nearly 400 beds and care for about 2,000 patients annually with nearly 140,000 days of hospital treatment. Two large additional hospitals are under construction in Alaska. Approximately 70 percent of the births among Indians served by the health personnel in the United States now take place in Indian Service hospitals, which is a great increase over the past 20 years.

A special expert in tuberculosis, assisted by nurses and technicians, is conducting studies on the effectiveness of BCG vaccine in the prevention of tuberculosis. These studies involving over 3,000 Indians have been in progress since 1935 and are conducted in Arizona, Wyoming, South Dakota, North Dakota, and Alaska. Observations thus far have proved that BCG vaccination is a procedure of merit in the control of tuberculosis, and it is now being given quite generally to Indian school children and newborn infants.

Another physician, skilled in tuberculosis, with nurses and technicians, is conducting surveys on reservations to determine how many Indians have tuberculosis. This team works with a

Slowly medical science makes headway against faith healing
Navajo Service, Arizona.

mobile X-ray laboratory of latest design. When an individual is found to have active tuberculosis he is put on the waiting list to enter one of the modern Indian Service sanatoriums for treatment.

Trachoma, which was at one time prevalent among Indians, has been effectively reduced by the untiring efforts of physicians and nurses specially trained in the treatment of the condition. Sulfanilamide therapy was found to be effective in arresting the disease late in 1937 by one of the Indian Service physicians. Since that time its use has been extended to all reservations in clinics and hospitals.

There is no special personnel at the present time for trachoma control, as this work is now undertaken by regular physicians and nurses of the Service.

Eighteen traveling dentists render dental service, particularly to Indian children of school age, in their respective districts which are comprised of two or more Indian reservations in one or more states. Additional local dentists are employed on a part time or a fee basis at several of the boarding schools and for limited areas at agencies. The dental services generally are limited to extractions, fillings, and prophylaxis as the number of dentists, the funds and equipment available are too limited to permit prosthetic and restoration work.

The prevention of disease among the Indians is accepted as the joint responsibility of physicians, field nureses, school teachers, and other field employees of the Indian Service. Vaccination and immunization procedures found to be effective in preventing diseases are used widely in the Indian Service and have resulted in decreased incidence of such diseases as smallpox, typhoid, and diphtheria which formerly took a heavy toll of Indian lives. In certain areas these diseases are less prevalent among Indians than among their non-Indian neighbors. Classes, lectures, and clinics are conducted to teach the Indians to take proper care of themselves and their children. The health departments of the several states are cooperating to a greater degree each year and full time health units are extending their program to include Indians as well as non-Indian population.

Many organized tribes now have active health committees on the tribal council, and many have passed resolutions making state health laws and regulations effective on the reservation.

Many, too, have adopted important ordinances designed to enforce the control of communicable diseases on the reservations.

The United States Public Health Service, through its Sanitary Engineer Corps, has given splendid cooperation in inspecting and furnishing plans and specifications for the improvement of water supplies and sewage disposal facilities on Indian reservations throughout the country.

The combination of efforts in the fields of medical and hospital care, public health, and research has served to bring about a decrease in the death rate among Indians. The differential between the Indian birth and death rates very plainly indicate that the Indian race is now far from a dying one.

Eagle Dance — Pueblo Modern Block Print

10.

INDIAN AGRICULTURE

The Extension Branch of the Indian Service is a relatively new unit. It was formally organized in 1931. Prior to that time little assistance was given Indians with their agricultural problems. Practically no aid was rendered in greater and more efficient land use, improvement of agricultural methods, livestock, and crops, nor in encouraging Indians along the lines of self-support.

All peoples are faced with a common problem—how to get a living from their environment. All peoples must obtain sufficient production from their resources in order to survive. The aim of the Extension Branch is to assist Indians to use their resources, and help them to help themselves. The program is one of stimulating self-help—not of doing the Indian's work for him.

The extension program varies on different reservations according to the human and physical assets. Definite programs of work are formulated by the Indians with the assistance of extension workers. The programs have specific goals, and show what, when, and by whom certain work is to be undertaken. At the close of the crop season a check is made against the goals established at the beginning of the year, to determine how nearly they have been attained. Shortcomings are analyzed, and an effort made to overcome them in working out the program for the following year.

Agricultural improvement is taught in many ways. Methods effective with one group may be ineffective with another. Results achieved, however, are understood by all. If, as an example, an Indian who adopted improved practices receives a larger check from the sale of his livestock than that of the Indian who did not adopt improved practices, it will not be difficult to persuade the latter to adopt improved practices the following year. Extension work among Indians differs considerably from that conducted by the Department of Agriculture. Judged by the standards of that Department, much extension work among Indians might be called "pre-extension" work.

Most Indian reservations are located in sections where livestock raising is the chief industry. The raising of beef cattle, consequently, is the largest commercial undertaking of the Indians. Extension workers encourage the production of the largest possible number of high quality cattle consistent with the carrying capacity of reservation ranges, or other lands available for Indian use. Improvement is brought about in the type and quality of cattle mainly by proper culling and the exclusive use of purebred bulls. At two reservations, cows are artificially inseminated, and the Indian livestock industry leads the entire country in this particular procedure. Disease control is handled in cooperation with the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture. Indian cattle now command high prices in the country's livestock markets, as the quality is equal, if not superior, to the product of non-Indian livestock growers.

Most cattle are owned individually, but are operated through Indian cooperative livestock associations. The businesslike operation of these organizations today is a far cry from the attitude of the Indians toward this industry only a few years ago. This is illustrated by the story of an Indian on a northern reservation. Somehow he had accumulated enough money to buy twenty-two head of well-bred heifers. He seemed pleased with the cattle which were purchased for him, took them home, and for almost a year did not call at the agency. But the following spring he came back. He again wanted cattle. Knowing of the cattle purchased the preceding year, the first reaction of the superintendent was to congratulate the Indian upon his continued interest in the cattle business. Upon inquiry, however, he found that the Indian no longer had any cattle. Then he asked what had become of the heifers purchased for him the year previous, and why he wanted additional cattle when he had not retained those previously purchased for him. "We eat 'em," the Indian replied. "Twenty-two head no last forever."

Nowadays the Indians guard their foundation herds zealously, and only part with them in case of extreme need, drouth, lack of feed, or other conditions beyond their control. Cattle no longer are purchased for them. The Indians make their own selections with the assistance of extension workers. The Indian-owned beef cattle inventory increased from 167,000 in 1933 to 363,000 in 1948. Money income from beef cattle increased from $263,000 to over $17,860,000.

In addition to beef cattle, extension workers encourage the Indians to keep dairy cattle to supply home milk needs. In some sections Indians also sell milk, cream, and butterfat commercially. Indians are assisted with sheep and goat projects, particularly in the Navajo country. An experimental range and sheep-breeding laboratory is operated in the Southwest, which is developing a cross-bred sheep which will produce a type of wool suitable for hand-weaving, but which also will enable Navajo sheepmen to compete with other woolgrowers in the commercial market.

In Oklahoma, Indians receive assistance in raising hogs. In Nevada, they are assisted with turkey projects. Other types of poultry are grown throughout the country. Improvement of horse stock on the various reservations is given considerable attention. As indication of the progress Indians are making in all their livestock enterprises, their income from the sale of all livestock and livestock products increased from $1,200,000 in 1933 to over $30,973,000 in 1948.

The limiting factor in the development of an economically sound livestock program on most of the northern reservations is the availability of winter feed. Indians are encouraged to increase their acreages of alfalfa, clover, and other forage crops. This ties in with the practice of crop rotation which also is being emphasized. Reserves of feed, accumulated in years of plenty to tide the livestock over in years of scarcity, are being encouraged.

Next to the livestock projects which provide cash income for Indians, gardening is the next most important activity. Indians emphasize gardening for consumption rather than for marketing, although in some areas the Indians do market considerable garden produce. Gardening has as its goal the production and storage of sufficient vegetables to assure a balanced diet for the Indians throughout the year. Generally, Indians are good gardeners, but as a whole their gardens have been too small, and have not been planted at the proper season. Often, seed beds have been improperly prepared. Enough produce ordinarily is raised for summer and fall consumption, but there usually is insufficient production to take care of nutritional needs during the winter and early spring months.

One old Indian on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana illustrates the need for work along this line. He had been gardening for years, but had never been able to raise enough to take care of all the needs of his family for the entire year. He tells a pitiful story of hungry winter months, and how for years he dreaded to see winter coming because of the suffering he knew was bound to follow. Then the extension worker came, showed him how to plan his garden, how large it should be, what varieties he should plant, how to prepare his seedbed, and how to store vegetables. Assistance was given him in the construction of an adequate root cellar. Now he says he can look challengingly at winter as the unproductive months arrive. "I shake my fist at old man winter," he said. "I tell him to come on now. I'm ready." While this is true of one Indian, and of many others, there are still many who need assistance along this line.

The story of a Nevada Indian named Willie illustrates the success extension workers are having in assisting the Indians to help themselves. Back in 1941, when Willie was 39 years old, his tribe granted him an assignment of land upon which to live and work. Willie had spent the greater part of his life working as a roustabout for white ranchers, road contractors, PWA, and other emergency organizations. Sometimes he was forced to eke out a living by trapping coyotes. When he received the land assignment, Willie's sole capital consisted of a horse and saddle and thirty-four cents in cash. He secured a loan from his tribe to purchase livestock and equipment and went to work. He called upon the extension worker to show him how to obtain the highest possible production from his assignment. He took good care of his livestock, followed approved practices in irrigating his land, grew a good garden. He was rewarded for his hard work. In 1945, only four years later, Willie's capital had grown from thirty-four cents and a horse and saddle to over $6,000.

Extension workers not only assist Indians with their production, marketing and other agricultural problems in the field, but a limited number of women workers are employed to go into the Indian homes and help the women with their home problems, much the same as county home demonstration agents assist rural women throughout the country. These workers continue to advocate the practices which the women learned as girls in Indian schools. However, there are as yet many Indian homemakers who have had little or no schooling, and who need considerable help in the management of their homes. Food preservation is the main project. The Indian women as a whole are very adept at drying fruits, vegetables, and meats, and such practices are encouraged. Canning is taught through simple demonstrations, adapted to the primitive conditions which exist in many Indian homes. Home sanitation, nutrition, and child care are other important home extension projects.

Another important activity of the Extension Branch is 4-H Club Work with Indian boys and girls. In 1946, project enrollments totaled over 12,000. Completions were 86 percent of enrollments. Club work among Indian boys and girls compares favorably with that among other groups. Gardening, livestock, and sewing clubs are the most popular.

Not only does 4-H Club work afford training which will be of benefit to the Indian boys and girls when they begin farming, stockraising, and homemaking for themselves, but it has been found to be an effective means to teach other Indians improved agricultural methods. The history of Indian relations with white people is such that the Indians often are justifiably suspicious of practices advocated by whites. By proving to them, through their children, the benefits to be obtained from adopting improved practices, many older Indians have been convinced that they should follow methods which they otherwise would have rejected.

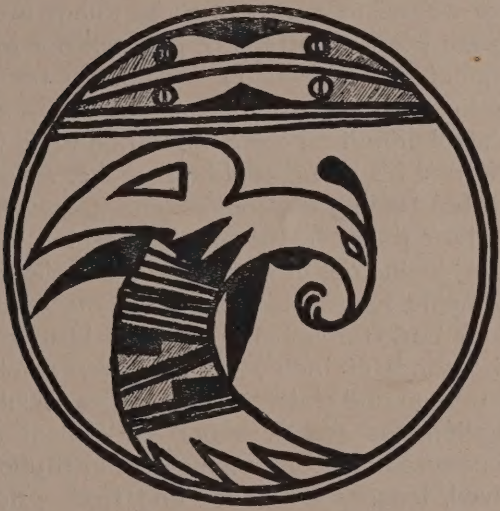
The main task of extension workers is to teach the Indians how to provide adequate food, clothing, and shelter by their own efforts. They need help in raising their economic status to a level which will compare more favorably with that of non-Indians in nearby nonreservation areas. The big job still is to produce enough to assure the Indians a healthy and decent standard of living. Extension work begins where that of the Education Branch leaves off. Assistance is rendered from the time the Indians leave school until they no longer have need for assistance.

An illustration of how the Indians react to extension work is given in the following story. Prices were considerably lower at

The Indian accepts the white man's machine, when it can help.
Mission Agency, Southern California.

OLIVER

the time this incident occurred than they are today. An Indian on the Pima Reservation in Arizona had worked faithfully catching wild horses. One year he succeeded in capturing four small ones which he sold for two dollars each. On returning home his wife informed him that she had sold four turkeys at three dollars each. She had become interested in a project which the extension worker was promoting. Her husband had not been interested at first. With the results before him he scratched his head, thought the entire matter over, and remarked, "Huh! I ketch more turkeys from now on, too."



Hopi pottery design, Hotevilla, Arizona.

The beautiful old crafts fortunately persist. Shoshone woman. Ft. Hall, Idaho.

11.

INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS

In our modern civilization most of us have been brought up to believe that we must do without those things we cannot buy. Here is the great point of difference between our manner of living and that of the American Indian as he was, before white civilization overtook him, and as he remains today. An Indian, like all primitive people, often had to do without those things that he and his group could not make. Aside from some limited intertribal trading the Indian had no source from which he could buy those things he needed. He had to use his skill and ingenuity in fashioning out of raw materials available to him, his clothing, ornaments, household goods, implements, and weapons.

As we look back through the pages of history we find that there were thousands of Indian villages, even small cities, peopled by men, women and children living under social and governmental obligations as complete and as logical as our own. Crops were harvested, school systems and institutions of higher learning evolved, leagues for peace and trade established that opened up for these people a system of intertribal commerce. Through this early commerce tribes were able to exchange their oversupply of goods. A village, famous for its potters, would organize trading expeditions to the country of Indians who produced very fine baskets. A hunting tribe—living in the wake of the buffalo—became expert in the tanning and sewing and decorating of leather, which in turn could be exchanged for the shell necklaces of a coastal community. As all artisans of all times have had individual fancies or personal techniques, so had these early craftsmen. By the combination of native colors, the peculiarity of design, the women of one family would be recognized. Nomadic hunting families were known by certain details of their costume, just as certain village families developed within their households, designs for pottery that descended from mother to daughter for centuries.

A certain striking example of this ancient custom was noticed recently when a group of Pueblo Indian women were being shown through the rooms of pottery in the Laboratory of Anthropology in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The women were quick to recognize among the thousands of bowls, jars, and jugs, those particular pieces made by their aunts and grandmothers and great-grandmothers, designs which today their families are still using.

Along the great Northwest coast of Alaska intertribal trade flourished among basket makers, metal workers, and wood carvers. Objects of utilitarian value beautifully wrought by individual craftsmen often carried some personal sign similar to a totem pole design. His canoe, wherever it might take him, or his decorated basket-work hat, wherever it might be seen, were advertisements of the craftsman's tribe and family.

Quite naturally competition existed among all the tribes of the American continent, a competition not to produce the *most* but to produce the *best*. No pains were too great, no time so limited that a woman could not spend a winter on the weaving of a tiny grass basket. When a Navaho woman prepared to weave a blanket, her husband would compose songs about the blanket and the weaving of it. Later, when silver was introduced in the Navajo country and the men became workers of the white metal, a whole culture of songs grew up—with the rhythmic aid of which they hammered the silver and conceived the design. Were you to step today into the work shops of the Government Indian school silversmiths, you would hear these traditional songs being sung. That is why machinery and bench-work production has no place in the making of a true piece of Navajo silver, which is essentially the creation of an individual using very simple tools, with no stint as to time or materials.

With the coming of the white man a new market opened up for the Indian hunter, farmer and artist who wished to dispose of his goods; furs were exchanged for copper kettles; Indian women were employed to make the fringed leather jackets of the white frontiersmen; pottery, baskets, blankets, meat and corn all found their way into the daily life of the early white man, for which were traded pittances of beads, saws, hammers, axes. But these machine-made articles of glass and metal were new wonders to the Indian; seldom could he refrain from hammering up his copper kettle into bracelets; and the women were quick to sew their colored beads on leather moccasins and shirts and elkskin dresses.

The old utilitarian crafts that had reached the peak of perfection—the minute weaving of baskets, and cloth of feathers and wools and grasses—eventually passed into the art of making "ceremonial objects" relegated to religious periods, rather than the daily need of the people. From Point Barrow on the Arctic Ocean to Florida, English baize and trade cottons, replaced furs and skins. Wooden bowls and exquisitely carved spoons of mountain sheep horn, were replaced by tin plates and tinnier forks. Cardboard shipping boxes put to shame the beautifully painted leather traveling cases of the hunting Indians. All because the Indian was made to believe that he should emulate the white man, wear his clothes (often unsuited to the climate and the rigors of frontier life), and adopt his European hair dress and education. Along with these came tuberculosis, the inadequate shelter of frame houses, the pauperization of a people who feared to make and wear their own clothes. The result was—and still is—that cast-off army and secondhand clothes are the lot of many of these people.

Few objects of beauty are still made by Indians in the United States and Alaska from native materials. The demand for souvenirs has almost completely destroyed the old native crafts, which were essentially of good quality and careful execution, objects upon which the maker's whole reputation and pride depended. No Indian has pride in the cheap souvenirs he makes today; but if he is educated and encouraged to do a fine silver bracelet or a fine basket, a family pride and a tribal pride arises in him that makes him a valuable citizen to the United States.

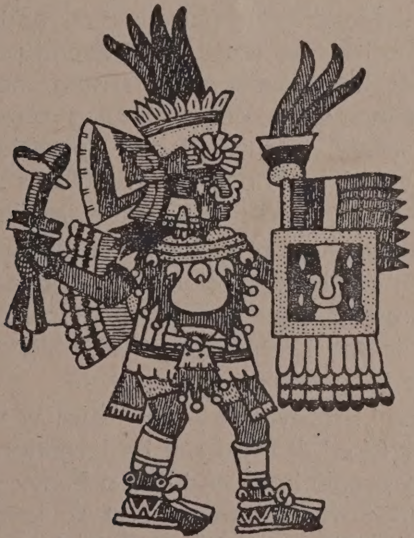
The difference between the old trade article and the modern souvenir is easily illustrated. Just compare the moccasin offered for sale in the average curio store with the moccasin worn by the

Silver worked with steel tools, both borrowed from the whites, in the hands of Indian artists, produces unrivaled jewelry. Navajo Service, Arizona.

Indian in his everyday life. Compare the cheap silver jewelry found in most of these stores with the jewelry the Indian himself wears.

In Oklahoma there are Indians who are making for their own use and the use of their tribe, feather fans which when available sell at $25.00 each. The handles of these fans are solidly beaded in tiny beads, the finest beadwork that has ever been done in the whole history of the American Indian over a period of almost two centuries. One asks why? And the answer is because the Indian is creating for the use of his own people an article of beauty to be used in his own church: the Native American Church.

It is the plan of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board, established by Act of Congress, to encourage and aid in every way the freedom of expression of the Indians of the United States. By recognizing the superior skill of these men and women and children as handicraftsmen, by encouraging the making of useful objects of beauty for themselves and the mechanized homes of the modern American, and by carefully planned production and the improvement of marketing conditions, the board hopes economically to advance the status of the Indian.



Tepotecatl, from Aztec carving, Mexico.

Tribal officers of Zuni — A Pueblo preserving an ancient culture in spite of Spanish and then American contacts. Zuni, New Mexico.

12.

INDIAN REORGANIZATION

For many decades the Indians were thought of, and possibly they thought of themselves, as a dying race. Numerically they were dying. As battling groups they had lost their fight. As civilizations their day was ended.

Then very gradually but unmistakably the Indians' life-tide seemed to turn. The critical change goes back a decade and a half, or longer. Then, in 1934, the basis of Indian law was altered. Previous law had presumed the elimination of Indians. The changed law presumed their permanence and their increase. Indian Service, the Indians' mind, the general public's mind, became hopeful of their numbers increasing, not dwindling; of property-holdings increasing, not continuing to melt away; of cultural values preserved, intensified and appreciated and sought for by the white world, and no longer treated as being significant only in terms of an outlived or crushed primitive world.

All of these evidences of new birth and new assurance have been forthcoming in the recent years. The population record alone is an impressive one. Indians are increasing faster than any other group in the United States. Full-blood Indians are increasing at more than one percent a year.

Important and gratifying as it is to know that this turning point has been reached, it must not be forgotten that for generations the Indian people have endured a heavy drain upon their resources and upon their stamina. Not so long ago, be it remembered, the Indian race in the United States was perilously close to extinction. Land holdings were melting rapidly. Native speech, native ceremonies (except the innocuous ones), native governments, were either under ban or were officially discouraged. Also, we must not overlook the fact that an increasing Indian population, though pleasing to hear of, is a hazard to the Indians. Their land holdings were so severely reduced and, in many instances, so disastrously damaged by overuse, that increase of population can only mean a sharper pinch for those tribes who right now are suffering from land shortage. The situation will bear elucidation.

What specifically have the Indians lost? What is the magnitude of the damage suffered by them? And what is the Government now doing to try to right some of the wrongs of the past?

At the time of the discovery of America, the tribes occupying the present territory of the United States were the sole owners of the land. One may quarrel with their method of using it, but one must admit that they were in possession. They owned, in the area of the continental United States, more than 3,000,000 square miles—approximately 2,000,000,000 acres of territory.

For almost 300 years, from the first Spanish colonization efforts in the Southeast and Southwest down to post-Revolutionary War days, the encroachment upon the hunting grounds of the inland tribes was gradual. Then, following the Civil War, the tide of white conquest surged over the plains of the middle continent, and beyond. Forests fell, cities came to life. Steel was nailed to the prairie in an enlarging rail network of commerce. Wild game, and the Indians living by it, disappeared into less accessible regions, or from the earth entirely.

By 1881, the 3,000,000 square miles had shrunk to 242,186 square miles—still a goodly sized empire, if it had remained intact. It was an area larger than California and not much smaller than Texas; or the equivalent of the northeastern tier—the New England States, plus New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana.

The last great factor in the reduction of the continental empire was the general Allotment Act of 1887, by which it became possible for individual Indians to get designated pieces of land, with title, and a right of disposal. Under that law, also, surplus Indian lands, lands not immediately required for allotment to individual Indians, were sold to the Government and then opened to white homesteaders. In effect, this was to open the last flood gates. During the next forty-five years, Indian lands would change into white ownership at the rate of 2,000-000 acres per year. Surplus lands, so-called, were the first to go. Some 60,000,000 acres were lost under this provision of law, and a generation of landless Indians, those who weren't born at the time allotments were made, grew up and found them selves without a means of livelihood. And those who received allotments, many of them, either sold or lost them in bad debts and unpaid taxes. The losses in this manner amounted to 26-000,000 acres.

By 1934 there remained to the Indian 52,500,000 acres, or 80,486 square miles, and of this amount nearly half was barren desert or semidesert.

This loss of land is stressed because it is something which can be measured; and because it is something we can readily understand. But from the Indians' point of view, even more damaging was the loss of self-rule and self-determination of their tribal destinies. Native governments were willfully destroyed, not so much because the white man objected to the governments, but because so long as the tribes remained organized and intergrated, they could be expected to resist encroachment upon their traditional lands. Similarly, native religions were run underground or destroyed; native languages were discouraged; native customs were frowned upon or abolished. These measures were justified as a necessary process of "civilizing" the Indian, but many Indians, because of these measures, learned an abiding resentment against the white man.

This is not an overemphatic description of the estate into which the Indian had fallen. Upwards of 200,000 Indians were either wholly landless or were subsisting on insufficient acreage. The income level was hardly visible; 80 percent of all Indians had to support themselves on less than $200 per year, only part of which was cash income. As a population group the Indians were diminishing, not through biological weakness, since the Indian birth rate was exceptionally high; but because they were dying faster than new births occurred. As late as 1910 the death rate among Indians was just double the mortality rate in the country as a whole.

The situation was not to be dealt with in patches. In 50 years there had been no basic change in either the law or the philosophy of Indian administration. The time had come for drastic revisions of both. Independent investigations, carried on by the Institute for Government Research, directed by Lewis Meriam; by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs; and by associations of persons friendly to the Indians, had underscored the necessity for change. What resulted, eventually, was the act of June 18, 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act.

Not carelessly was that Act adopted by Congress, but after hearings which continued for months, after nation-wide publicity, and after study and debate by Congresses of Indians in many parts of the Indian country.

In its main structures the Act is a simple one. It declares and provides that Indian land losses must stop. It requires that timber, grass, soil and water on Indian lands must be conserved. It starts the revesting of landless Indians with land for subsistence. It provides for the advanced schooling of Indians. It gives to Indians a preference in their own Indian Service employment. It establishes a credit fund and system for Indian agriculture and industry. It gives to the tribes a veto-power over the leasing and disposal of their natural resources and over the expenditure of their moneys held in government trust, and an advisory status with respect to Federal appropriations for Indian benefit. Finally, it gives to organized tribes the right to go into court to defend their own civil and property rights.

All the essential features of the Act are stated in the above paragraph. Comprehensively, the Act looks and builds forward to a growing Indian life of future years. It makes possible liberty and responsibility within continuing Federal aid and protection. It implements the Constitutional rights of Indians—implements their citizenship.

The Act differed further from previous Indian legislation in that the tribes were allowed to decide for themselves whether or not they would live under the new law. They were asked to vote on its application, and those who by majority vote decided to exclude themselves have been allowed to continue as formerly, with the exception that they cannot dispose of their land except in emergency cases which must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

The Act opened the way for tribes, bands, and various groups of Indians to assume political and economic control over their internal affairs. Under the general provision of the Act and the amendment of June 15, 1935, elections were held among 258 tribes or bands residing on Indian reserves and were conducted by committees of the Indians duly appointed by a majority vote of their tribesmen. One hundred and eighty-one tribes accepted the Act and 77 tribes rejected it. Voting was by secret ballot and this vote, under the law, was final. Thus, a tribe voting to accept the Act, and likewise a tribe voting to reject it, could not later vote to reverse their previous actions.

Tribes accepting the Act are eligible for organization in accordance with section 16 of the Act. Nothing in the Indian Reorganization Act requires a tribe to organize. The adoption of a constitution is entirely voluntary. However, many tribes have realized the desirability and importance of a progressive constitution giving accurately defined scope to their power over tribal lands and other assets, as well as a recognized organization through which tribal wishes may be expressed. When tribal members feel that it would be advantageous for the tribe to organize under the Act, they make their wishes known to the local superintendent who advises with them how organization may be accomplished. The first step towards organization is the selection of a constitutional committee of representative tribal members whose duty it is to draw up a constitution which will fit the needs of the tribe. The Department offers its assistance in the preparation of such documents, but only to the extent that such assistance is requested. Scrupulous care is exercised to see that the document as drafted represents the wishes of the Indians. When a draft constitution has been prepared by a tribal committee it must be submitted to a referendum vote of the tribal members. The election is called by the Secretary of the Interior when the request is made in the manner prescribed by law. Thus, a tribe may vote repeatedly upon the question of adopting a constitution, in those cases where the proposal has been defeated. Constitutions may also be amended or repealed.

The first tribal constitution under the Indian Reorganization Act was adopted by the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation on October 4, 1935. Other tribes followed in rapid succession. At the present time 95 tribes, bands, or Indian communities, exclusive of Oklahoma and Alaska, are operating under constitutions. In Oklahoma 18 tribes have organized pursuant to the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act which extends to Oklahoma certain benefits of the Indian Reorganization Act.

After adopting a constitution and bylaws, a tribe may, in accordance with section 17 of the Act, request the Secretary to issue a charter to its group which will permit the tribe to function as a business corporation "to purchase, take by gift, or bequest, or otherwise, own, hold, manage, operate and dispose of property, of every description, real and personal . . . and such further powers as may be incidental to the conduct of corporate business." This request is made in the form of a petition signed by at least one-third of the adult Indians. The charter must be ratified by the tribe in a special election called by the Secretary of the Interior. A charter thus issued by the Secretary and ratified by the tribal members may not be revoked or surrendered except by an Act of Congress.

A total of 137 tribes have been incorporated under the Indian Reorganization Act, Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act, and the Alaska Act.

As of December 1, 1949, 62 native villages in Alaska have completed organization under the Act of May 1, 1936, which extended the Indian Reorganization Act to Alaska.

All of the constitutions and charters reserved to the Secretary of the Interior the power to approve, recind or review tribal actions.

The corporate charters issued pursuant to section 17 of the Act also contain a provision specifying that at any time after the charter has been in effect for a certain period of years the powers reserved to the Secretary of the Interior may be terminated. For some of the charters the period is five years; however, in the majority of charters the period is ten years. If termination of the Secretary's supervisory powers is desired, a tribal resolution must be addressed to the Secretary of the Interior requesting the termination. If he approves, the matter is then submitted to a tribal referendum. The termination is effective upon ratification by a majority vote at an election in which at least thirty percent of the adult members of the tribes residing on the reservation participate in the election. Should the Secretary disapprove the request or fail to take any action within ninety days after its receipt, the tribe may nevertheless terminate the Secretary's supervisory powers, if on a referendum vote the termination is approved by two-thirds of the eligible voters.

The charters issued pursuant to the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act contain a provision whereby at any time within a certain period of years after the ratification of the charter any power of review established by the charter may be terminated by the Secretary of the Interior with the consent of the tribal membership. At or before the expiration of this period the Secretary may propose a further extension of this period. Such proposed extension shall be effective unless disapproved by the majority vote of the tribal membership.

The Act authorized an annual appropriation of $2,000,000 for the purchase of land for landless Indians. That full amount has never been appropriated in any one year. At the close of the fiscal year 1946, a total of 395,417.05 acres had been purchased at a cost of $4,526,270.87. Surplus lands (under the Act lands which had been withdrawn from an Indian reservation for homestead entry and which had not been taken up), could be restored to Indian ownership, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Interior. Acting under this authority a total of 1,152,841 acres has been restored to Indian ownership. In cooperation with the Farm Security Administration, (formerly Resettlement), an important submarginal land purchase program was undertaken in eleven states. This program has resulted in the purchase of 890,670 acres. Land has been secured through other means: By exchanging scattered Indian tracts for solid blocks of state and county lands; by special appropriation for the purchase of lands for specified tribes; and encouraged by this expenditure of Federal funds, Indian tribes are voluntarily using their own tribal funds to purchase land. Approximately 400,000 acres have been added to Indian land holdings through land purchases with tribal funds.

One of the important reasons for the failure of Indians to use their lands, a charge often brought against them, was the fact that they lacked credit. Lacking machinery and stock and seed, they were forced to fall back on leasing their land to white men who had access to credit through local banks. Removed from their land, the Indians developed the unhealthy habit of living in closely clustered camps, often around the agency and

The Indian Reorganization Act is restoring self-government to Indian groups.
Shoshone Council, Wind River, Wyoming.

44

in small reservation towns, where they lived meagerly while waiting their lease checks. The Reorganization Act deals with the problem by providing for a revolving credit fund of $10,000,000. An additional authorization of $2,000,000 was provided by the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act. Through the use of these funds the whole tone of life has been changed for many individuals and for a number of tribes. Indeed for many Indians, credit is the most positive fruit of the Reorganization Act. This lending program has had outstanding success. As of June 30, 1949, loans totaling over $13,000,000 have been made from the revolving loan fund. The repayment record shows that 97 percent of all due payments have been met. Less than two percent was extended and less than one percent was cancelled or in default. Potential losses in the lending program are less than one-half of one percent of the amount loaned.

The new policy is based on two ideas: Tribal organization, and fuller use of land. Out of organization will come greater participation in the management of property and domestic affairs; and out of land use, by which is meant the purchase of land for those who are landless and credit to carry on operation, will come better living conditions. Fundamental to the program is the recognition of the right of Indian culture to survive and enrich the daily life of the individual and the group. Not humanitarianism alone, but a belief that human beings are at their best when they are left at peace in those matters of conscience which come closest to them, prompts this attitude.

Indian girls at home in modern business life—Chickasaw, Mohawk, Seneca and Navajo—employed by the Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

13.

OUR INDIAN MINORITY

by John Collier,

Former Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Living as we do in one of the greatest democracies of the world, it is proper from time to time to study and to evaluate some of the elements that constitute democracy in the abstract and to ask ourselves how well in practice we have upheld the principles set down by the founding fathers.

Because one of the basic elements in a true democracy is the treatment accorded to minorities, I think it is fitting that we consider the manner in which the Government of the United States has handled its indigenous Indian minority. From the standpoint of numbers the native population is by no means great, for in all the 48 states and Alaska there are living today no more than 430,000 Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts. But from the standpoint of our national honor, our self-respect and the standpoint of our national future, the record of our treatment of Indians is vastly more important than mere numbers indicate.

Almost everyone knows that from the beginning of time minorities have been persecuted. Many of our ancestors fled to the new world to escape just such persecution.

These things were well known to the founding fathers of our country, who in their wisdom sought to create a form of government that would provide for all peoples that freedom of thought, of speech, of culture, politics, religion and race that has in so many places and in so many ages been denied.

Let us see how their vision, so far as our native Indians are concerned, has come down to us in practice.

We find that the Indians, often viewed as a dying race, are actually increasing in numbers and at a rate faster than any other population group in the country. We find the Indian is being educated in excellent schools, sometimes Indian schools and sometimes institutions in which Indians and whites are pupils.

Indians live in all the 48 states and have extensive land holdings in 27 states. Their lands, though greatly shrunken during the last 100 years, still amount to more than 52,000,000 acres, and under a sympathetic Government are now slowly increasing. Indians are citizens of the United States, with all the rights of citizenship. On their reservations they enjoy, by reason of new laws and administrative actions, a high degree of self-government. They are being employed increasingly in their own Indian Service, in other Government agencies, and through Federal employment counsel, in work outside the Government. More than half of all the regular Indian Service employees are Indians and the percentage is growing rapidly. Indian arts and crafts are being stimulated for economic, as well as cultural development. Indian health, housing, education, irrigation and soil conservation are all being improved.

Better, perhaps, than any of these things, but yet a part of the whole program, is the increasingly successful Government effort to make the Indian a self-supporting member of his community. Very often the question is raised as to why the Indian is placed in a special category, why he is a ward of the Government, why he is maintained in a status different from the people of white or other races.

I think it can be answered simply in this way:

European colonizers and their descendants brought to America ideas of land ownership, morality, government, and religion which were meaningless to the native American. He had his own values, his own property systems, governments and views of the world. In time these European ideas became dominant to the exclusion of Indian habits of thought. Since we were a humane nation and were not bent on destroying the Indians, we assumed the responsibility of showing them how our white-man ideas operated. We wanted the Indians to learn our ways. We tried to force them. Meantime, through our breaking of hundreds of solemn treaties with the tribes, we destroyed in many Indian minds their faith in us and their faith in their own future.

We took away from the Indian all but a tiny fraction of his wealth in land, water and other resources, and even his food supply, so far as that consisted of game and wild products; and by doing so we charged ourselves with the responsibility of keeping the Indian from starvation. Futhermore, since the Indian's understanding of property differed from ours, it was obvious that he would not long retain the little property left him if he were not protected. That made it necessary to erect trust-barriers around him which would prevent predatory men from making off with the means by which the Indian was to be taught a new way of existing.

By placing trust-barriers around Indian property, we exempted his land from state and local taxation. In taking this action we were subjecting the Indian to possible discrimination on the part of the states which would have resulted in leaving him without health care, education, roads, or any of the services which a state renders its people. State and local communities cannot furnish services without revenue. Once again, then, it became necessary for the Federal Government to assume an obligation toward the Indian tribes whose property it was seeking to protect.

Today about 28 percent of the Indians in the United States are in Oklahoma. Removed from the Southeastern states by the Federal Government before the Civil War, the Five Civilized Tribes—Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles—are just now emerging from the long twilight brought on by the smashing of their tribal holdings. Except for a few, made accidentally wealthy by oil discovered on their land, these Indians live at a low economic level. Back in the hills many fullbloods cling to their ancient ways. Elsewhere the Five Tribes are admixed much with the white population. In Western Oklahoma the lot of the Indian has been a little happier.

In the Southwest, particularly Arizona and New Mexico, are the village dwellers—the Rio Grande Pueblos, the Hopi, and the Zuni—living mainly by agriculture and growing their crops by irrigation, as do the Pima in South Arizona. Here also are Papago and Navajo, the latter the largest homogenous group of all and in some respects the most perilously situated at this moment. The Navajo are sheep raisers, and the Papago are cattle raisers, both tribes leading a seminomadic life on the deserts of Arizona and New Mexico. Among these Indians of the Southwest, almost all of whom are fullbloods, the economic basis of existence has not been destroyed by the coming of the whites, or else new means of existence have been found not inconsistent with their own culture, However, erosion and rapid population increases have brought about a condition in which existing resources are inadequate for present populations. Efforts are being made to solve the problem.

Of the Indians of the North Central region, including Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana, the most numerous groups are the Chippewa and the Sioux. Over much of this area the impact of white civilization has almost, if not completely, destroyed the earlier Indian ways of living, including their tribal governments. White men have long been among these Indians and have used much of the land and resources in the white man's way.

Indians of the Northwest—Washington, Oregon, and Idaho—depend largely on fishing, hunting, and agriculture. Assimilation of Indians in the white population has made considerable headway in many parts of this section.

In Nevada and California, Indians are widely scattered and live for the most part in small settlements and rancherias. Here, as in Oklahoma and the Great Lakes States, the effect of white domination has been the most damaging and irreparable.

It was in 1928, that there was made public the findings of the so-called Meriam Report, a study of the Indian Service made by a committee headed by Dr. Lewis Meriam under the Institute of Government Research. The facts there presented, many of them long known to close friends of the Indian, brought to the American public a profound sense of shock. And it was at this point that the forces of democracy began to swing into effective action. There was nothing politically partisan about this action. It was a matter of national honor and of national humanity.

The United States Senate, commencing in 1928, held a long and explosive series of public hearings which heralded some of the reforms to come.

In 1929 there were appointed as heads of the Office of Indian Affairs, two outstanding men, Mr. Charles J. Rhoads as Commissioner and Mr. Henry Scattergood as Assistant Commissioner. In their four years of service they laid the groundwork for some of the changes that were later to come.

Beginning in 1933, under President Roosevelt and Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, two long-time friends of the American Indian, the American people, having learned the facts of the Indian minority situation, issued to the Indians a new charter for a long and a better life.

President Roosevelt, in urging the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the basic law upon which Indian reform is founded, made this comment:

> "Certainly the continuance of autocratic rule, by a federal department, over the lives of more than 200,000 citizens of this Nation is incompatible with American ideals of liberty. It also is destructive of the character and self-respect of a great race."

What the program adopted in 1933 aimed to do has been discussed in a preceding chapter.

As a result of the new policies Indian life in these recent years has become a rich and intense drama. The striving of the will of individuals and of tribes is the moving force in this drama. Indians have turned from anticipated death to anticipated life, from fatalism to action, from inferiority to healthful pride. Most important of all, they have turned from believing and accepting that the Government had the first and last word, to believing and asserting that they, the Indians, have the first and last word. Thousands of Indians now are consciously aware that prosperity and greatness can come to them, but only through the things they themselves may do.

Not all the problems have been solved.

There remains to be accomplished far more than we have been able to do. The thing that we have started to do, and with the help of the American people, have continued to do, is to help the Indian work out his own destiny. We have aided him to retain and to rebuild the richness of his own cultural life and in doing this we think we have vastly enriched the national life, the national heritage and the national honor of 150,397,000 Americans. This is the way the democracy of the United States is solving the minority problem of its first Americans.

Publications of

UNITED STATES INDIAN SERVICE

Prepared primarily for use in Federal Indian Schools.
Suitable for use in any school.

INDIAN LIFE AND CUSTOMS PAMPHLETS—Illustrated

1. The Northern Paiute Indians of California and Nevada, by Ruth Underhill
2. The Indians of Southern California, by Ruth Underhill
3. The Papago of Arizona, and their Relatives the Pima, by Ruth Underhill
4. Workaday Life of the Pueblos, by Ruth Underhill
5. Indians of the Pacific Northwest, by Ruth Underhill
6. The Story of the Blackfeet, by John Ewers

INDIAN HAND CRAFT PAMPHLETS—Illustrated

1. Quill and Beadwork of the Western Sioux, by Carrie A. Lyford
2. Navajo Native Dyes, by Stella Young and Nonabah Bryan
4. Seneca Splint Basketry, by Marjorie Lismer
5. Ojibwa Crafts, by Carrie A. Lyford
6. Iroquois Crafts, by Carrie A. Lyford
7. Pueblo Crafts, by Ruth Underhill
8. Spruce Root Basketry of the Alaska Tlingit, by Frances Paul
9. Blackfeet Crafts, by John C. Ewers
10. Weave It Yourself, by Flora Dee Goforth

INDIAN LIFE READERS—Illustrated by Indian Artists

NAVAJO SERIES—in English and Navajo

Little Man's Family
Little Herder in Autumn
Little Herder in Winter
Little Herder in Spring
Little Herder in Summer
Who Wants to be a Prairie Dog?
Coyote Tales

PUEBLO SERIES—in English (some also in Spanish or Hopi)

Young Hunter of Picuris
Field Mouse Goes to War
Little Boy With Three Names
Sun Journey
Little Hopi

SIOUX SERIES—in English and Sioux

The Pine Ridge Porcupine
The Slim Butte Raccoon
The Grass Mountain Mouse
The Hen of Wahpeton
There Still Are Buffalo
Bringer of the Mystery Dog
Brave Against the Enemy
Sioux Cowboy (Pre-Primer)
Singing Sioux Cowboy (Primer)

A catalog and price list of all Indian Service publications may be obtained from
HASKELL INSTITUTE, Lawrence, Kansas